Vol. III. No. 9.

THE MADRAS REVIEW

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

EDITED BY C. SANKARAN NAIR.

MAY, 1897.

CONTENTS. Page.

I.	COMMERCIAL MORALITY IN MADRAS.	By S. R. M.	115
II.	KALIDASA.	By S. Sitarama Sastri.	124
III.	THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.	By V. Kanakasabhai Pillai.	139
IV.	THE GOLD NECKLACE—A TALE OF INDIA.	By B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar.	149
V.	INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.	By C.	171
VI.	THE MAPPILLA PROBLEM.	By C. Karunakara Menon.	180
VII.	PRISON LIFE IN MADRAS.	By P. Chinnaswami.	196
VIII.	WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA.		210
IX.	FEMALE WORSHIP IN THE EAST.		217
X.	WARREN HASTINGS.	By R. B. Lenahan.	222

Madras:

Printed at the Vyjayanti Press, Lakeside, Egmore,

and

Published by Srinivasa, Varadachari & Co., Mount Road

1897.

Editorial Office, Egmore, Madras.

Annual Subscription with Postage Rs. 7.

Price per Copy Rupees 2.

THE

MADRAS REVIEW.

Vol. III. MAY 1897. No. 9.

COMMERCIAL MORALITY IN MADRAS.

A writer in the November number of the Nineteenth Century has drawn attention to the low state of morality prevalent among the native merchants of Japan and the difficulties which respectable English merchant houses are subject to in overcoming their tactics. He also points out that the country cannot rise high in trade and that its competition with England can never become serious so long as no improvement is made in this respect. On considering further whether there is an early chance of a better state of things he concludes there is none. This is a very serious charge indeed and one which should be carefully sifted as, if true, we are likely to be as banefully affected as distant England and perhaps more so since our commercial machine is but one of recent erection and has not gone much beyond the experimental stage. Japan has already invited India to an intimate commercial union and we have no doubt that the men in whose hands this union has to grow would foster it with all the care that it needs.

But in regard to the charge itself we shall dismiss it with a short remark. Seeing that the Japanese have but just shaken off the benumbing influence of a stagnant and self-sufficient civilization we are fain to credit them with the will and power to rectify

these evils at the earliest opportunity. At all events we are unwilling to accept on the *ipse dixit* of an article writer, that a nation which, by an energy as unique as it is laudable, has risen from oblivion and exhibited the strength of its revival in every channel of human advancement, would allow this imputation on its common sense to stand unchallenged. We should not also forget that the writer is not a Jap but an Englishman whose countrymen suffer most from this new competition. This explosion of bile would not be surprising even when by mere stress of competition they had been driven out of countries which they had hitherto looked upon as their preserves; but when it is borne in mind that the Japanese Government are fostering new industries by liberal bounties, the wonder is that worse charges have not been thought of to ruin this presumptuous race in the eyes of the world. We should suppose that their displacement by an upstart nation has more to do with the complaint than any real grievance. It is not everywhere that they could succeed in coercing local governments to levy 'countervailing' excise duties to make up for the advantages of indigenous raw material and cheap labour. But be this as it may we propose to briefly review the state of matters here and to find out how far these moral censors have carried out those principles in which the poor Japs have been found wanting. It will be observed that the writer referred to has carefully avoided mention of the relations of those native merchants among themselves. We presume that he took it for granted that unfairness if it existed would only appear in their dealings with foreigners with whom they would be quite at arms' length and beyond the influence of public opinion and social restrictions. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the aspects which transactions between English and native merchants present to us without going to trace how these classes deal with each other among themselves.

We shall not be far wrong in stating that the gigantic commercial enterprises which have dazzled the world in our days have been made possible by the English banking system, based as it is on mutual credit and the immense resources it has in the savings of thrifty citizens who have not the time or inclination to lay out their money for profit but who for a moderate return are willing that the banker should use it at his risk. These sums however small indi-

vidually aggregate to a respectable figure in the bankers' hands with the additional advantage to the investors of being able to withdraw any portion when they require it. The chances of a simultaneous recall of all the investments are very few indeed and not worth taking into account in practice except on occasions of panic which, with reasonable diligence, can always be guarded against. Our native bankers know well enough how to use their own money to the best advantage ; but they have no idea whatever of this ingenious device by which their transactions might be extended indefinitely. Their biggest operations appear childish beside those of their European rivals when they have solely to depend on their own resources. The trade on other people's money is a science unknown to them into whose mysteries they are not likely to be easily initiated. We are all aware of how jealously Europeans guard the secrets of their trade and avoid giving an opportunity to natives lest by chance they should learn them. Every position and appointment which might enable them directly or indirectly to get acquainted with their methods of business is studiously filled up by their countrymen. In this respect we are afraid there is not a single bank or merchant house to which we can point as being superior to this petty jealousy. There is no question of trust or capacity in this matter. More onerous and delicate work may be entrusted to natives so long as it is only such as would not let them into their system. Perhaps Englishmen here are painfully conscious of the principle which for fifty years they have preached and acted on, that the fittest will survive or do the authors of the free trade reform see the errors of their ways and work out the result by other means? We shall presently see into what anomalies, prejudice and self-interest lead them.

When a merchant has to pay for goods purchased of a distant seller he goes to a banker and arranges with him for an advance on their security. Whether the banker pays in this way on behalf of the buyer or whether he does so at the instance of the seller to be recouped from collections from buyers he retains a lien on the goods for the amount. He also obtains from the parties a percentage in cash for further security so as to leave a margin against loss in the event of his having to sell the goods on default of repayment. It is evident that the banker may by skilfully adjusting this percentage

and the interest payable on the loan not only protect himself completely but may also use it to help or hamper his clients. It is in his power to insist on prompt settlement of accounts or grant time and other facilities. We shall proceed to mention how advantage is taken of this power, to handicap if not cripple the native merchants in their struggle against their Europeon competitors.

No matter what its standing and credit be, when a native firm applies for a loan the margin required is always very heavy. From our explanation above it is easy to see that the sum paid in as margin is from the merchant's point of view so much dead money locked up in his banker's hands and yielding no return. He would therefore, so far as he could, try to reduce this and the more credit he obtains the better he should succeed in it. In a country of dear money like India where the interest runs very high every merchant knows to his cost what hardship this distinction entails. Now the question may arise whether this high margin is really necessary for the banker's security in the case of native merchants. There are only two cases in which it would be so, all native merchants being either false, unreliable men or speculators without credit. To condemn wholesale in this manner is a little too much and we have to look to any other explanation for the uniform treatment. For the same amount of capital a merchant could do twice as much business as he could otherwise do, if the amount of margin, payable as indicated above, be reduced by half, and the profits realized will also proportionately increase. If a native merchant were required to pay a heavier deposit than an English merchant of like strength and standing the latter gains an advantage which will not be lost sight of in this age of calculation.

That this difference is not required for the legitimate purposes of commerce is also clear from another fact. We have in this country two kinds of banks namely 'local' and 'exchange' the former of which engages itself primarily in local banking business and the latter in discounting bills of exchange. But neither entirely excludes the other kind of business. The former is in the hands of Englishmen who are almost settlers in the country and have local interest and prejudices but the latter are merely branches of English banking houses managed by agents sent out from time to time by directors in England. These should not have any interests

here and are only bound to take care of their masters' interests as bankers and to carry out their orders strictly and faithfully. We may naturally expect that such persons would not have the same temptation to handicap native merchants that local men with personal interests may have. Except so far as general sympathy for their countrymen may carry them away we may except that thay would be more lenient in their dealings with natives. They look at the thing almost solely from a banker's point of view and if in the result they see their way to be satisfied with a lesser margin we may safely presume that they did not do so in ignorance of their interests but that because all reasonable conditions were satisfied.

Now taking up the question of the interest on the loans, we find the same distinction maintained between European and native. One would imagine that the heavy margin which handicaps native merchants so injuriously having placed the loan practically beyond risk, bankers would be satisfied with a fair interest regulated by the legitimate demand for money. But apparently when a good opportunity offers itself of squeezing out the poor Indian still further, it were folly to lose it. 'High interest and native security', seems the creed of our bankers.

In these matters even banks which are under the indirect superintendence of Government are not better. When the interests of European houses are concerned it is a matter of common knowledge of how anxious these banks are to accommodate them. Every facility that could possibly be afforded is at their service. If government in the consciousness of the risk it ran in investing the tax payer's money with these banks requires that no over-drafts might be allowed or loans advanced except on substantial security it does not limit in any way the discounting of hundies and bills of exchange. Are not promissary notes executed by respectable firms 'substantial security' on the strength of which to advance loans? But we shall not here pursue this subject further.

We have so far mentioned how Anglo-Indian feeling towards natives has shown itself. We shall next see how far they have prevailed on their brethren at home to acquiesce or take part in such treatment. We have several rival steamer companies regularly plying between India and the different parts of the globe. They compete very closely with each other and have nothing in common

except perhaps their nationality. But in so far as Indian trade is concerned they have formed a combination and agreed on certain rules to be observed by all. One of these rules perpetuates a race distinction which we will here refer to. When goods are shipped the freight on them is either prepaid or left to be paid by the consignees on delivery. In either case an abatement is made on it for the benefit of the shipper which is known as freights return commission. This is a substantial sum amounting to about 10 to 15 per cent and is of great service when the freight is not payable by himself because the full amount would be recovered from the persons liable to pay the same while this little business between the exporter and the steamer company is merely a private solatium. In any case freight is reduced by that amount. Now by the rule we referred to, no native shipper is entitled to this commission. This is solely a premium in favour of European shippers and does not depend in any way on the amount of business done with the shipper. Naturally there are not wanting Europeans who make a living out of it and are content to be the retainers of these big native firms to lend their name as shippers and draw this commission. This system of confining the return commission to European shippers has a serious effect on export 'consignment' business.

All the firms trading here have agents in Europe to whom goods are consigned through the former by native merchants for sale on their account. The firms charge a commission of 1 to 2 per cent on the value of the goods for their trouble in the matter and the consignor takes the risks of the market and bears all the expenses. This is a safe and favoured business of the firm where it undertakes no responsibility whatever and works purely as an agent. But this does not however deter them from pocketing the amount of the freight returned by the steamer company. The full amount is charged to the consignor and no concession is made to him. The well known legal and moral principle that the agent should not derive any advantage out of the agency behind the back of the principal is quietly shelved, but we are now merely concerned with the matter as affecting competition in favour of European firms and it is evident that this gives them an advantage over their native competitors who cannot count on any such adventitious income nearly equalling that earned as lawful commission.

So far as to the general distinction made as between European and native firms. We shall now see the treatment the latter have in their business relations with the former. When a merchant wants to indent for goods at the English firms he is called upon to sign what is called a 'firm' offer in their books which when accepted forms the contract. The effect of this offer is that the former undertakes to purchase of the latter goods of specified pattern and description to be shipped as agreed upon. The other necessary terms are embodied in it and the firm acts as principal making itself responsible for the contract without bringing in its suppliers at any stage. The firm after making the necessary deductions for its profit and charges tries with its suppliers to effect a second contract in its turn. If it succeeds it would directly accept the offer of the merchant or if any modification in the terms is requisite it negotiates for it. The offer of the merchant is a mere proposal but without liberty to withdraw from it for a fixed period to give time for communication. The sale intended is of unfinished goods which the foriegn agent is expected to get ready and supply.

Often however in the hope of future offers, firms order the goods on their own account and find them on their hands if the anticipated demand fails but all the same when indents are received for them the old farce of communication with agents is kept up as much to keep the indentor in ignorance of the previous purchase as to lead him to believe that the goods would arrive in the usual course fresh at manufacturers' hands.

There is no limit fixed within which the firm engages itself to fulfil the contract but if the goods are not shipped within six months of the date of acceptance the indentor may cancel the order without any claim for damages. This is a very elastic and dangerous provision inserted with more than the ingenuity of lawyers. For all practical purposes it makes the contract one-sided. We have explained how a proposal once made by signing the indent may not be withdrawn till a certain period has elapsed and if prices go down in the meanwhile the indentor has no means of going back. If the acceptance is received in time the merchant would be bound no matter how conditions had altered against him. But how does the firm stand? Until the conclusion of the contract they may have the terms altered to their wish but let us suppose prices

to go up after it is complete. They are bound to supply the goods but without any stipulation as to time. They do not undertake to supply at the earliest opportunity or in the shortest possible time. There is an outside limit of six months within which if the goods are shipped they could compel the indentor to take up but if they do not do so within the period the only remedy against them is to *cancel the contract without claim* for damages. One has only to hold off sufficiently long and prices might go down or the buyer throw it up in anticipation of an unfavourable fluctuation.

We shall give but one more illustration of this kind of morality and we shall have done. Instead of making themselves liable to the indentor and taking the risk of the contract local firms sometimes vary this by merely acting as agents to conclude the bargain between the suppliers and buyers. In such cases the return commission paid by the former for obtaining orders is quite enough for them and they act also as agents to collect their drafts. Although at first sight it appears that the firm has nothing further to do with the contract and any disputes that may arise have to be settled direct between the contracting parties, this business would generally be impossible except where the parties have great trust in each other. The drafts might arrive at any moment and being payable very soon after sight would cause great inconvenience and work mischief unless the drawers could rely on sombody to finance them at once. In fact these are mainly induced by the firm undertaking to finance, which they could easily do when the drafts arrive through them. In a case of this kind which came before the courts recently, the supplying firm in England changed its agents here after the booking of the contract and the new agents presented the draft for acceptance repudiating their liability to finance as usual. Representations of the undertaking and of how the buyers were prejudicially affected by the change were made to the drawers but they refused to consider them and insisted on their rights. They said they had entire liberty to change their agents when they liked and any arrangements of the kind referred to could not bind them. However the courts took a more reasonable view of the matter and refused to allow them to deprive the other party, by a change of agents, of advantages on which they counted at the time of entering into the contract. This case is also important as showing how easily the

public could be misled by holding it out as an instance of Indian perverseness in the same way as that in Japan has been held out. The time has yet to come "when the merchant who overtrades, the bank director who countenances an exaggerated report and the railway director who repudiates his guarantee come to be regarded as of the same genus as the pick pocket." The art of gaining bargains is the same in Japan or elsewhere and merchants we fear will not be easily persuaded that religion and morality have much to do with them. When an old firm of standing and credit does not scruple to win away the foreign agent of a neighbouring native firm because he happened to be good and worth having, this would only be another sin competition has to answer for. If in the search for a substitute which for obvious reasons must be a serious matter all his business is unhinged it would perhaps be the triumph of competition.

KALIDASA.

THE estimate which the countries in the West have formed of the merits of Kalidasa as a poet and dramatist is mainly based upon a study of his works as translated by oriental scholars into the English language and it is hardly necessary to say that the Shakespeare of India must have considerably suffered in their estimation under the circumstances. Sir Monier Williams one of the best translators of Sakuntala makes the following observations in his introduction to that work. "Translation of Poetry must, at the best, resemble the process of pouring a highly volatile and evanescent spirit from one receptacle into another. The original fluid will always suffer a certain amount of evaporation and waste." These observations, it will be apparent to every thoughtful reader, are indisputable so far as they go, but they do not go far enough. The view is clearly optimistic and does not disclose the full extent of the waste undergone by the spirit in the process. The waste referred to in these observations as a necessary consequence of the process will be all the waste only on the hypothesis that language is a mere receptacle of thought. But the fallacy of this position has been sufficiently exposed by eminent writers on the subject of language and its functions. The language even in prose literature—literature of information—is not a vesture which can be doffed at pleasure without prejudice to the quantum of thought which it either expresses or conceals. We often come across passages in prose literature which refuse to be paraphrased in other words of the same language, much more to be translated into the vocabulary of a different one. Much greater evidently must be the tenacity of a poetical thought. The language of poetry which is essentially a literature of power cannot be the cloak or the apparel of the thought. The thought and the language in poetry act and react each upon the other and undergo a process more analogous to a chemical combination than to a mechanical mixture till the word ceases to be the mere receptacle of the thought, till the word becomes, as it were, the incarnation of the thought. If the function of the language of poetry were merely to denote the corresponding object or express

the sentiment it were then possible to translate poetry of one language into another language without any appreciable evaporation of the poetical thought or sentiment. But the main function of poetry is not to give us any information or to teach us anything that we did not know before but to move. It appeals not to the understanding but to the emotions and suggests or at any rate ought to suggest more than it expresses. The language of poetry is thus considered beautiful, not on account of what it denotes, but on account of what it suggests. Between a true poetical conception and the corresponding true poetical word there subsists a peculiar chemical affinity—a nobler one than that spoken of in modern science —which so unites them together that a subsequent analysis of the chemical product into its constituent elements is impossible. This assertion may probably appear too bold or extravagant to make and we therefore hasten to substantiate it by an illustration or two. In a verse of Raghuvamsa Kalidasa uses the word *Samrambha*. The Sanskrit lexicon does not contain another word which can be substituted in its place without serious injury to the sense. This word or that may be suggested by a commentator or a pundit but it will be evident that any word so suggested is selected not on the ground of its absolute fitness to act as a poetical substitute but on the ground of its being the best available in the language, as making the nearest approach to the word for which it is made to do duty. It is hardly necessary to add that the English vocabulary does not contain a word which can take the place of this word *Samrambha* in the verse which contains it. The word which approaches nearest to it is 'rage.' It must be conceded that this word will do infinitely better than the more prosaic word 'anger.' But considering how we often speak of 'the rage of grief' we can scarcely think of translating the word *Samrambha*, especially with reference to the context, into its feeble and misleading English equivalent 'rage.' Another illustration is afforded by the word 'blushing.' It is altogether needless to observe that the idea denoted or suggested by this word is or at any rate was unknown to the Indian and the Sanskrit vocabulary in consequence contains no word which can take the place of '*blushing*' so as to give the Indian reader unacquainted with the English language any idea of what the word denotes or suggests. The idea is altogether foreign to Sanskrit literature and

any attempt to translate *blushing* into the Sanskrit tongue must necessarily fail.

In making these observations we have for the sake of clearness assumed the competency of the translator to do the work he has undertaken. Even for purposes of translating prose literature of one language into that of another it will be conceded that the translator should possess a sufficient command of both languages if the work of translation is to be satisfactorily done. A greater command of both the languages among other qualifications is *a fortiori* needed for translating poetry of one language into poetry of another if the force or beauty of the original is to be preserved without any apparent diminution in quantity or deterioration in quality. But by an irony of fate the work of translating, as the combined experience of readers and critics shews is generally undertaken by gentlemen who are not ripe scholars in both the languages. Their qualification for the self-imposed task is *not* that they are ripe scholars in both or even either of the languages but that they know something of both and are thus better fitted by mere possibility than those who are well-versed in one only of them without any pretensions even to a smattering in the other. It is such people that often act as middlemen between persons who know only one of the two languages having absolutely no acquaintance with the other. Can we not then without hesitation assert that an estimate of an author based upon a superficial study of such translations of his works must necessarily be prejudicial to his name? But how, it may be asked, do these observations apply to the case before us. The earliest translator of 'Sakuntala' accredittedly the best work of Kalidasa is Sir William Jones. The observations of Sir Monier Williams, another translator of *Sakuntala*, regarding the merits of Sir William Jones' translation are interesting and instructive. In his introduction to his translation of *Sakuntala* Sir Monier Williams remarks that Sir William Jones was the first to discover that the Sanskrit language had a dramatic literature of its own and explains how he came to discover this fact. Sir William Jones had heard that there were many *Natakas* in the Sanskrit language and believed that they were so many *histories*. He questioned many a Sanskrit Pundit as to what these *histories* were like and received various answers of whose correctness he could not judge. On a day, however,

particularly lucky for the ancient literature of Sanskrit, he was informed by a Sanskrit Pundit in answer to his interrogations that these *Natakas* were *plays* such as were frequently enacted on the English Stage and that they were *not* histories as the Chief Justice erroneously believed. Thus corrected he asked for the best composition of the kind extant in the Sanskrit language and was unhesitatingly informed by the Pundit that *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa was out and out the best of them. He found it easy with the aid of Sanskrit Pundits to get a few manuscript copies of the play and some time after he surprised the world with his prose translation of the original. It is no matter for wonder that a translation of one of the best plays in Sanskrit literature by a gentleman whose only equipments for the task were his inexpressible surprise at discovering the existence of a rich dramatic literature in Sanskrit and his eagerness to surprise the Western world by the discovery eventually failed to secure favorable opinion from his successors in the field of investigation. We can safely endorse the observations of Sir Monier Williams, indeed far from complimentary, on the merits of Sir William Jones' translation, although we are not prepared like Sir Monier Williams to make the *amende honorable* by attributing the faithlessness of the translation to illusory causes consistent with his predecessor's linguistic fitness for his work of love. Sir Monier Williams' translation is certainly entitled to respect as more faithful to the original. But absolutely considered we are not inclined to place this translation on a high level of estimation either. In many instances the work shews that the author could better write good English poetry than comprehend the full force of the Sanskrit original or in some cases, its bare import. It will be easy to illustrate our observations by quotation from the translation but as we have other opportunities in the course of this paper to refer to passages in the original and the translation for other purposes we refrain from unnecessarily swelling it by a repetition.

Now another reason for the very moderate and measured praise accorded to the writings of Kalidasa by Western Critics is furnished by the spirit with which his works have been studied in their English garb. Starting with a strong prejudice, sometimes well expressed but often ill-concealed, against the fabulous antiquity claimed for these works and inclined 'to bring down' the date of Kalidasa to

the most recent possible times consistently not with logic but with the semblance of it, the oriental scholars of the west have now and then dipped into these works with the one fixed idea of securing internal evidences against their alleged antiquity. Such words as *Huna* and *Parasika* which could never hope to be placed in the witness-box before a tribunal constituted to investigate the merits of Kalidasa as a poet or dramatist are summoned to appear before the public and are coerced to depose against the antiquity of the works in one of whose corners they lay penned up for ages without attracting the slightest notice from the most careful reader. The most interesting portions in the famous writings of this author in the opinion of these oriental scholars are generally found in those uninteresting verses which reward their spirit of antiquarian research with unimportant and indefinite information, if it is worth the name, showing the meagre knowledge, geographical or astronomical, of the Indians of Kalidasa's date. They examined not the sober truths contained in every page of Kalidasa's writings; they did not permit their thoughts to linger at and assimilate the intellectual and the spiritual food which every page had ready made for every hungry reader. They never suffered themselves to pause and admire the majesty, the rich melody and the grand simplicity of his verses; they never had a word of praise to bestow on the rich imagery of his description in the Raghuvamsa of the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges; their minds were all preoccupied with the credulity, why, the insolence of the Hindus who without the precaution of maintaining any reliable chronology had still the hardihood to place Kalidasa before the birth of their Saviour and they studied these works over and over again determined to find sufficient data to place him after the celebrated Astronomer Aryabhatta. There is nothing surprising under these circumstances, in the fact that this poet of India did not receive the full meed of praise from oriental scholars.

Yet another cause that has contributed in no inconsiderable measure to the faint praise with which this poet has been rewarded by occidental critics is the ignorance of the west of the difference in the fundamental conception of the function of the drama. While in England the function of the drama is, in the words of Shakespeare, 'to hold the mirror up to nature' and 'to show the very age and

body of the time, his form and pressure' the dramatists of India had early learned to regard a play as conferring 'religious merits on the author, the actors and the audience alike, as furnishing a delightful entertainment to the gods and as contributing directly and indirectly to the emancipation of the soul from its bondage; and from this difference in the conception of the function of dramatic literature arose nearly all the difference at present existing between the plays of England and those of India, in the choice of the subject and the hero, in the style employed, in the general method of treatment and in the weaving of the plot. The English drama glories in the delineation of character, in thrilling descriptions of the systole and diastole—the ebb and flow—of human thoughts and passions and in the absorbing interest of intricate plots. Life for the purpose of the English drama is with all its evanescent phases no mere phantasm. It is a reality. As for a here-after, whatever be the beliefs of the dramatist, the actor, the audience or the *dramatis personae*, it is tacitly assumed, for the purposes of the play, that those beliefs do not any way influence them in the practical concerns of their mundane existence. Bishops and archbishops are made to lay aside their religious, or it may be, superstitious beliefs and are made to play an active part in plots and conspiracies calculated and shrewdly designed to further their earthly interests in utter disregard of the principles on which they might have vauntingly harangued to their congregation on a Sabbath day. The rise and fall of Empires, the extension of dominions, murders secretly plotted and diabolically executed, shocking disappointments, agreeable surprises, love's labour lost, much ado about nothing, the end of ambition, the comedy of errors, these and themes like these of entirely earthly importance call forth the tragic or the comic muse in England according as the conclusion is one of worldly prosperity or adversity. The hero of an English play however removed in the matter of accomplishments or worldly advantages from the audience that gather to hear the play enacted is still a man of flesh and blood, a creature of circumstances, hatching plans for the advancement of his temporal interests, pursuing with zest the fleeting phantasms that allure him into depths of vice and misery, pulled east, west, north, south by one thousand and one discordant thoughts and playing the weather-cock to the most deceptive illusions. The

Sanskrit drama on the other hand glories in a hero who differs in kind, and not in degree only, from the audience that go to hear his story enacted on the stage. Not that he is altogether free from the ills to which flesh and blood is heir, not that he seldom or never pursues the object of his love, not that he never frowns or weeps. His actions indeed closely resemble those of ordinary mankind but their springs are entirely different, not merely physiological or psychological but ethical and spiritual. He marries not for love but for the performance of the ennobling duties of a householder and in trying to secure the earthly objects of his love he is still conscious of the vanity of human joys and sorrows. The world, the object of his sensual perceptions, is not merely shortlived but an unreal dream. So are its joys and sorrows. Be he king or emperor the ruling thought of his breast is to lay aside his crown and sceptre at the earliest possible opportunity after having shifted the unprofitable burden of his position to younger shoulders to seek the calm seclusion of the hermitage where freed from the disturbing influences of noise and strife he might concentrate his thoughts on the one supreme Being in view to attain the only real and desirable consummation, the one-ness with the Absolute. It is no question with him 'to be or not to be.' How to shake off this mortal coil without the fear of having to assume it again is the only question that interests his spirit. He is thus a being moving in a higher plane than the spectators on the stage whose aims are purely temporal not subordinated to any ethical or spiritual yearnings.

It is therefore no matter for wonder that oriental scholars apparently unaware of the origin and the growth of the Sanskrit drama should have based their criticism of it upon its non-conformity to those tests which they have been applying in the case of the English drama and by that process of reasoning landed at conclusions and indulged in observations as little complimentary to their critical acumen as to the genius of the Sanskrit dramatic literature.

Before proceeding to discuss the claims of Kâlidasa to immortality as a poet and dramatist we shall mention his works adding short notes on every one of them so that we may judge more critically of those on which the claims are founded; for although the Hindu holds in very high estimation all the productions of

Kalidasa, he has always conceded the palm to some of them with a discrimination that other nations would hardly expect of him.

The poem of Nalodayam is a poetical rendering of the eventful story of King Nala as narrated in the Mahabharata, the literary storehouse of the Hindu nation. This poem even in the eyes of its most admiring critics is inferior to others from Kalidasa's pen. It is a type and the worst conceivable type of literary legerdemain, devoid of any beauty of language or sentiment. It is full of verbal conundrums not amenable to any fixed rules of solution. There is a popular disinclination among the Hindu to concede Kalidasa's authorship of this poem very reasonably inspired by the apprehension that the concession would considerably detract from the angelic reverence paid to the deified author. Those who on the other hand find themselves constrained by tradition or other evidence to admit Kalidasa's authorship of this poem have a story to tell about the circumstances that led the author to give this poem to the public. It is said that the contemporaries of Kalidasa (and they were neither few nor small) who could not hold their own with him and had often to hide their diminished heads in his presence maliciously circulated a rumour that he could only write simple verses with ease and grace and that he had not learning enough in him to enable him to give the world a poem which required editing. The rumour in the usual course reached his ears and he felt so piqued that he immediately composed the poem of Nalodayam to silence his malignant critics and to shew the world what he could do if he chose. The poem was read before the king at whose court they lived and the critics of Kalidasa were challenged to explain the verses. They could not make any sense out of any of them. It was evidently Greek to them as it must be to every body. They felt rebuked, stood abashed and confounded at their individual and joint littleness and in unmistakable language acknowledged Kalidasa's superiority. We have not the slightest hesitation in denouncing the story as a pure concoction ; but we have every reason to believe that it was invented by the admirers of Kalidasa with the object of maintaining the celebrity of their pet poet who should never have attained much of the celebrity if his other works had any points in common with this very inferior poem.

Jyotirvidabharana is another work of the same poet. It is an

astronomical treatise in verse and is entitled to no place in this paper except as shewing that Kalidasa the great poet was an indifferent astronomer.

Ritusamhara by the same author is a poem on the seasons as its name implies. It abounds with passages of voluptuous beauty and affords excellent specimens of rich imagery from the grand panorama of Nature. There is of course a ring of sensuality about it such as is discernible in some of Byron's productions. As a descriptive poem it may hold its own with many of its kind in other languages but to an intelligent critic there is little in the work which could by any stretch of reasoning be argued to have contributed in any degree to the fame of Kalidasa.

The Meghaduta or Megha Sundesam as it is indifferently named is a short and sweet poem of two cantos. The plot, it is believed, was suggested to the poet's brain by the incident in the Ramayana of the monkey-God Hanuman having acted as messenger from Rama to his wife Sita. A love-lorn Yaksha passing his tedious hours in mount *Chitrakuta* is suddenly maddened by love for his absent consort and mistaking the autumnal cloud for an intelligent being requests him to pay her a visit on his behalf and assure her of the prospect of a speedy and happy meeting. The cloud is represented as having faithfully discharged his mission whereupon the lord of the Yakshas in pity for his subordinate's sufferings from separation from home remits the unexpired portion of the sentence, cancels the order of banishment, reinstates the Yaksha in his office and enables him to live happily with his lady-love. The chief value of this poem in the eyes of oriental scholars is the meagre geographical data which it furnishes and on which they rely to 'bring down' (an expression which expresses appropriately their painful efforts) the date of Kalidasa to the fifth or the sixth century after Christ. But to us its claim upon our admiration lies in the lofty sentiments occasionally expressed therein, the melody of the stately verses, the charm of its language and the glowing descriptions which it contains. We hope we will not tire our readers by translating for their benefit a few passages from this poem.

Though northward bound a little devious turn,
Nor of fair Ujjein's cloud-topped mansions' laps
Neglect the grateful touch; for should you miss

The trembling glances of damsels there
At lightning's flash, your eyes have missed a feast.

The following is the description of the river Nirvindhya.

Now mark emerging from the Vindhyan range
Nirvindhya moving slow o'er high and low,
A silver-belt of swans about her waist
Making sweet music with the dashing waves,
Displaying as she gently moves along
Her whirling navel ; near the thread-bare stream
And mark her lean attenuated frame
Covered with withered leaves of neighbouring trees.
She looks a love-lorn maid with braided locks
And face all pale for love. So choose to act
She may her thinness lose and swell again
For you alone could work that pleasing change.

This translation, we must confess, is a bad enough specimen of English poetry, but we can even from such a translation form an estimate of the beauty of the original. The comparison of a river to a love-lorn maid is perfectly original and the one idea of the author is worked out with peculiar grace to some length. There are also other passages in this poem which are often quoted by Ṡanskrit Pundits. But notwithstanding the beauty of such passages and happy conceits we are not inclined to assign to this poem a very prominent place in the poetical literature of Sanskrit or among the productions of this author: The whole poem is an effusion proceeding from a pathetic fallacy and although according to Ruskin's differentiation it may be argued to be of the noble kind we cannot help observing that the subject of the poem is neither morally nor spiritually elevating. There is, added to this defect, the fact that the interest is not sustained. It has got all the tedium of a lengthy soliloquy without those interesting mental discords which make it endurable. On the whole it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that very little of Kalidasa's fame rests upon his authorship of this poem.

The next production of Kalidasa which may be summarily dismissed with the remark that it has not enhanced our estimate of the author is the drama entitled "Malavikagnimitram." Our opinion in respect of this play is considerably strengthened by the

anxiety of some Pundits to attribute it to some other author as it does not evidently bear the stamp of Kalidasa's poetical genius. It is decidedly inferior even to Vikramorvasiyam (another work of the same author). Of course it cannot be denied that there are one or two passages here and there in the whole play which may be worth treasuring up in our minds for the sober truths which they express an instance of which is furnished by the reply of the stage-manager to the question why he thought of entertaining the audience by the enacting of a modern drama while there are so many ancient ones.

"All ancient works are not *therefore* the best ;
Nor those more modern, by that fact, the worst ;
Those who can judge, see for themselves and choose
While fools take others' judgment for their own."

Even the admirers of Kalidasa however will not contend that this play contains any very obvious beauties of language or sentiment worthy of the brain that yielded a Sakuntala.

The second of the three plays of this author is Vikramorvasiyam. Good Sanskrit scholars of any note are agreed that this play is not only inferior to Sakuntala but also to some of Bhavabhuti's plays. There are indeed a few passages worth remembering for their beauty of language or thought which appear below in an English rendering.

Delight succeeding grief doth better taste ;
Men scorched by heat do most relish the shade.

* * * * *

May wealth and learning still at open war
Meet at the self-same place and drop their feud !

* * * * *

While young and strong, men garner up their gold
That they when bent with age may rest from toil,
The burden on some younger shoulders placed.
But me alas ! foredoomed to endless work
A bondsman for my life, no rest awaits.

But beyond these stray passages which may content aliterary connoisseur there is nothing interesting in the whole drama. There is no plot worth the name and absolutely no development or delineation of character. A whole act is exclusively devoted to a long-

drawn-out pathetic fallacy and disgusts the reader with its dull monotony.

Having thus disposed of such of the writings of Kalidasa as according to the consensus of learned opinion could not be believed to have contributed in any degree however inappreciable to the fame of Kalidasa we now proceed to discuss the merits of his other works the Raghuvamsa, the Kumarasambhava and Sakuntala the tripod, by the principle of elimination, on which the immortality of Kalidasa rests.

The Raghuvamsa is a long poem of nineteen cantos giving an account of inconsiderable historical value of the Solar dynasty of kings from Dilipa downwards to the last king of the line known to Kalidasa. The subject, it will be conceded, is not eminently suited for a poetical treatment and when we see, as nobody could fail to see how well the work had been designed and executed in spite of the nature of the subject it only enhances our admiration of the author's 'faculty divine' which could touch any base metal into gold. This poem is very deservedly considered one and probably the first, among the six *mahakavyas* extant in the sanskrit literature and if it is surpassed by any poem in the language it yields the palm, as some contend, only to its brother Kumarasambhava in the lofty flights of creative fancy. But this difference certainly marked in favor of the superiority of Kumarasambhava is in our humble opinion entirely traceable to the difference in the nature of the subjects which furnished the plots of the two poems. There can not be any difference of opinion about the fact that the story related in the Kumarasambhava is infinitely better suited for a poetical treatment than a brief and condensed epitome of the incidents of the reigns of scores of kings variegated by no thrilling or sensational events and so closely resembling one another that we may well view them as different editions of the same publication differentiated from one another not by any variety in the matter but by the thinness or the thickness of the wrapper, the durability or otherwise of the paper used, and the get up expressed in fancy or otherwise. We ought also to remember that while the anecdote, the fiction or the allegory (whichever expression may satisfy the reader) on which the poem of Kumarasambhava is based, had not, for reasons we are not aware of, been the subject on which earlier poets

sang, the story as narrated in the Raghuvamsa, at least the most material and interesting portion of it, had furnished materials for the greatest epic poem of the Sanskrit language written under divine inspiration by the greatest of poets known to tradition and to fame and full of poetical beauties that will live for ever. In choosing this subject for his plot Kalidasa was painfully conscious that he was labouring under a serious disadvantage and it was certainly not in a strain of affected humility, as some may fondly imagine, that in the prefatory portion of the poem the author referred to this disadvantage in verses which we translate below for those who could not understand the original.

How high the theme—the sun-born progeny!
How small the intellect I call my own!
Fool that I am to hope with one frail bark
To cross the ocean shoreless as it is!
A dullard striving after poets' fame
I shall be laughed to scorn, so like a dwarf
Stretching his Lilliputian arms to reach
The tempting fruit reserved for taller men;
Or at the best my song upon this line
The theme of earlier bards may just receive
The feeble praise with which the string of threads
Connecting sparkling diamonds is damned.

Having thus suggested a plausible if not a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the fact that some are inclined to place *Kumarasambhava* on a higher level of estimation than *Raghuvamsa* we shall continue the main thread of our criticism of these two poems of Kalidasa.

The diction of the two poems is at once simple and grand. The verses are short and sweet especially in the Raghuvamsa and both alike claim our admiration for the terse condensation for which some of Shakespeare's maturer plays are so much admired, the quaint but happy similes which almost every sloka contains, the lofty sentiments, the holy calm which some seek and few find in Milton's Sonnets and the varied range of learning and deep insight which they attest. Both shew many passages of unrivalled literary splendour and majesty of thought. Whole passages have attained the popularity of familiar quotations. The passages des-

cribing the conversation of Rama with Sita on the return journey from Ceylon (Lanka) are almost the best extant in the poetical literature of Sanskrit for touching pathos and grand imagery. Again, the hymns to God both in Raghuvamsa and Kumarasambhava are more thrilling than similar passages marked for praise in Milton's Paradise Lost. We are tempted though prest for space to support this observation so far as a bad translation could do it: The following is our translation of the hymn in the Raghuvamsa.

All hail to thee ! of this vast universe
Sole author first, its kind supporter next,
Destroyer after all—thy three-fold power—
Thyself immutable, thy threefold state
In functions manifested self-assumed,
Even as the tasteless water dropt from heaven
Assumes taste diverse from the various soil,
All immeasurable, out measuring all ;
Full in thyself and full of boons to grant ;
Unconquered conqueror, the unseen source
Of all the vast visible universe ;
Enthroned in hearts though e'en from thoughts removed ;
Engaged in penance with no bliss to seek,
Compassionate but still untouched by grief,
Than memory older undecaying though,
Omniscient, thyself unknowable,
Author of all, self-sprung; lord over all,
Still uncontrolled ; one indivisible,
Filling all living forms. Thee sages seek
For blest emancipation from their bonds,
On thee their minds by concentration fixed
But find thee not, though reigning in their hearts
With dazzling light. Who knows Thee as Thou art
That though unborn assumest mortal forms,
Death of Thy foes, though in Thy self content,
Awake in sleep? The divers paths to bliss
By different schools extolled lead but to Thee
As Ganges' streams divided in their course
Do all alike the self-same ocean feed.
Who give their thoughts to Thee, please Thee by deeds

Induced by no desire for baser ends
Find Thee and never to this world return.
The visible world, Thy glory's concrete proof
Scorns all defining skill ; what need we say
Of Thee, Thine invisible glorious spirit
From holy writ and inference conceived?

Rama returning joyously with Sita thus refers to the spot where he found an anklet of hers while he wandered in the woods in quest of her.

Now this the spot where going in your quest
I found your anklet lying on the ground
Tongue-tied with grief, slipped from your charming feet.

The following are translations of some of the passages that are oft quoted.

The cobra trodden on bites him that treads
By indignation spurred, not love of gore

* * * * *

Great souls like clouds do gather but to give

* * * * *

Obey, not reason with, the lord's commands

* * * * *

The seed in proper season sown bears fruit

* * * * *

The shadow of the earth has grown a speck,
By popular suffrage, of the spotless moon

* * * * *

The furious blast whose force uproots the tree
Hurts not the mountain high

Self-taught the wind courts friendship with the fire.

* * * * *

The fire discovers true gold from the false

* * * * *

Attack the foe where weak and you shall win.

S. SITARAMA SASTRI.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(Continued.)

THE Chera, Chola and Pandya having been the only crowned heads among the Tamils for many centuries, they were collectively known as "the three kings." There were however several princes and chiefs ruling over extensive provinces in the Tamil land, who were more or less subject to one of the three kings. Some of them attempted at times to throw off their allegiance and set up as independent kings, but they were speedily subdued. First amongst the feudatory princes I should mention the Thirayan whose capital was at Kânchipuram. This prince belonged to the tribe of Thirayar or "Sea kings," from whom the Cholas also derived their descent. During the infancy of Karikâl Chola, the Great, the Thirayan of Kânchi usurped the Chola kingdom and ruled over it for a long period. From the poem Perum-pân-ârru composed in honor of the Thirayan, it appears that the king bore the titles of Pal-vér Thirayan and Thondaimân and was a warrior of great renown. (1) Had the Thirayan removed at once the seat of his authority to Uraiyûr the ancient capital of the Cholas, he might have continued in possession of the Chola kingdom and bequeathed it to his descendants. But he remained at Kânchi and Karikâl who escaped from prison, found little or no difficulty in regaining the throne of his ancestors.

Other chiefs feudatory to the Chola were the rulers of Venkadam malâdu and Milalai-kurram. Of the chiefs of Venkadam, Pulli was contemporary with the poet Màmùlar (2) and Athanungan with the poet Kallil-áth-thirayanar. (3) These chiefs were constantly at war with the Vadugar, who inhabited the country immediately north of Thamilakam.

Malayaman was the hereditary title of the chiefs of Máládu. The principal town in his province was Koval the modern Tirukoilur on the banks of the river Pennai. (4) An extensive and fertile

(1) Perum-pân-arru.
(2) Akam. 294-310-358.
(3) Puram. 175-389.
(4) Akam. 35.

mountain plateau called Mullûr-malai formed part of his territory. Here Malayamán-Kári granted lands to many Brahmin settlers, and such a large number of them were attracted to the spot that ancient Tamil poets spoke of the place as the famous Mullur crowded by Aryas. (5) Kapilar the Brahmin poet addressed Kári as follows praising his munificience to Brahmins and minstrels.

"The sea cannot over-run it. No enemy can assail it Kári, who wearest the warrior's anklet! thy land is the property of the Brahmins who preserve the sacred fires. The presents bestowed by neighbouring monarchs on thee, as the great vassal of one of the three kings, thou givest away to the minstrels who sing the praises of thy clan. Nothing deemest thou as thy own save the person of thy spouse who is as chaste as the Northern Star, and yet art thou supremely happy." (6)

Another bard solicited his patronage in the following verse:—

"Thou descendant of that dauntless hero who wrested the plates of gold which had adorned the foreheads of his enemies' elephants, and out of those plates made lotus flowers and tied them to the heads of his minstrels: Warrior chief of the mountain Mullûr on which the waterfalls descend with deafening sound through dense woods: that thou and thy warlike clan may prosper for ever, the learned Brahmin (Kapilar), than whom there is no wiser man on earth, has sung so well and made thy name immortal: that nothing is left to other minstrels to praise: even as no other ship can sail across the Western Ocean over which travel those vessels which bring gold to the shores of the Vánavan (Chera) we attempt in vain to sing of thee (as Kapilar has done): thou lord of the valley of the Pennai who hast routed rival kings who came with elephants and with thundering drums to fight with thee! driven by want and drawn by thy fame, we seek thy charity." (7)

Kári waged war with Ori, the chieftain of the Kolli hills, and having killed him in battle restored the Kolli hills to the rightful sovereign, the Chera. (8) Elated by success in his wars with neighbouring chiefs, Kàri aspired to be an independent king and assumed the diadem. He was hence known as Tiru-mudik-kári or "the

(5) Ariyar thuvanriya pêr ichai Mullûr.
(6) Puram. 122.
(7) Puram. 126.
(8) Akam. 208.

crowned Kári." Not long after this event, the Chola monarch who was incensed at the presumption of his feudatory chief invaded Maládu with a large army, and defeated Kári in a sanguinary engagement in which he was slain. The Chola intended to kill the sons of Kári and put an end to the family of the Malayamán, but their lives were saved by the intercession of the bard Kòvùr-kilàr. (9) Kàri's son Kannan whose life was spared in this manner lived to perform a signal service to the Chola king. For, some years afterwards, the Chola, hard pressed by his enemies, had to flee from his capital and seek an asylum in the inaccessible heights of the Mullúr mountain, in the territory of his vassel Kannan. The latter who inherited all the valour of his father, revived the drooping spirits of the royal party, and rallying his forces succeeded in driving off his enemies and re-established the authority of the Chola. The grateful monarch made Kannan his prime minister and conferred on him the high title of Choliya-Enáthi. (10)

Má-vél-Evvi the great Vellála chief of Milalai-kurram belonged to a powerful clan, which was considered ancient even eighteen hundred years ago. (11) His territory lay on the southern bank of the river Káviri; and consisted almost entirely of fertile fields in which rice and sugar cane were extensively cultivated. "The gates of his mansion were never closed and he never sat to his meals except with a large company" says a poet who partook of his hospitality. (12) He died of the wounds received in battle, while fighting bravely at the head of his troops, against Akuthai, one of the generals of the Pandyan king Nedunj-Cheliyan victor of Alankánam who had invaded his territory. (13)

Vêl Pâri, a relative of Evvi was the ruler of a petty principality called Parambu; but as a patron of poets he has left a name which will live in the memory of the Tamils as long as they speak the Tamil language. After the fall of Evvi, Pâri took possession of the high mountain of Parambu, and the lands surrounding it, and acted as an independent prince acknowledging the authority of none of "the three kings." He was a bold and gay adventurer,

(9) Puram. 46.
(10) Puram. 174.
(11) Puram. 202.
(12) Puram. 234.
(13) Ibid. 233.

simple-hearted and generous, and passionately fond of poetry. Every wandering minstrel was welcomed in his mansion. The sons of song were nowhere petted and feasted as they were in Pari's palace. They found in him a union of all those virtues which they loved to praise in their rhapsodies, reckless courage, lavish liberality and a gaiety which no reverse could check. He soon became their idol and his fame spread throughout Tamilakam. The bards recounted in glowing language, in the courts of the Chera, Chola and Pandya the princely hospitality with which they were entertained by Pâri. This excited the jealousy of the three kings and they sent their forces to besiege Parambu. The defiles of the mountain passes, with which Pari's followers were familiar, were strictly guarded by them, and Pari, by his personal bravery maintained for some days an unequal contest with the large and well-equipped army that surrounded him. At length the enemies forced their way up the mountain and attacked Pari who was killed in the encounter. (14) The poet Kapilar who was the boon companion of Pâri, uttered the following stanzas when Parambu was besieged by the armies of the three kings:—

"It is hard to conquer Parambu though the three kings invest it with their allied armies. Three hundred in number are the villages in the fertile Parambu-Nàd : and all the three hundred are now the property of bards. Myself and Pari remain : and here is our hill if ye come to us singing as minstrels do." (15)

"Is it easy to seize the Parambu of which Pari is the lord? Though the three kings who possess thundering drums, blockade the hill, it will yield four products for which no ploughing is required : first the thin-leaved bamboos supply rice ; second the jacktrees furnish sweet fruits, third, the stout Valli creepers yield edible roots ; and fourth honey drips on the hill, when monkeys leap on the hives ; spacious as the sky is the summit of the hill, and numerous as the stars are the springs therein. If you post a chariot on every farm and an elephant to every tree around the hill you cannot storm it with your soldiers, nor cut your way with swords. I know by what stratagem the hill can be captured. If striking the tuneful

(14) Ibid. 105-120.
(15) Ibid. 110.

chords of a small lute, ye go singing and dancing followed by your songstresses, he will grant ye all his lands and his mountain." (16)

Of the brave kinsmen of Pâri, every one had fallen in his defence ; and only his two daughters were left to lament his untimely death. The troops of minstrels who had lived on his charity were loud in their expression of grief for their departed chief, and their tears mixed with those of the two orphan girls who were now friendless. Kapilar the favourite bard of Pâri took charge of his daughters and while leaving Parambu addressed the mountain as follows :—

"We loved thee once! When the toddy jars were ever open, and sheep were slaughtered, and rice cooked with flesh was served as much as we wanted. Now Pâri, having died, forlorn and helpless with tears streaming from our eyes, we bid thee fare-well ; noble Parambu ! And we depart in search of proper husbands for Pari's daughters, whose tresses are fragrant and whose arms are adorned with bracelets." Kapilar took the girls first to Vichchick-kô and then to Irunko-vêl who were two petty chieftains in Tamilakam ; and both the chiefs having declined to wed them, he gave them away in marriage to Brahmins. (17)

Nannan lord of Chenkanmâ in the valley of the Cheyyâr was another famous chief in the Chola kingdom. The poem Malai-padu-kadâm was composed in his honor by Perunk-kausikanâr. It appears from this poem that there was a temple dedicated to Siva uuder the name of Kari-undik-kadavul on the top of the mountain Naviram in his territory. (18).

Ay, Porunan and Palayan-Mâran were the principal chieftains who owed allegiance to the Pandyan king. Of these, Mâ-vêl-ây belonged to the tribe of Vellâlas and was lord of the Pothiya hill and the land surrounding it. The chief town in his province was Aykudi (19). Ay-andiran who was one of the rulers of Aykudi is said to have once defeated the Kongas and driven them to the Western Sea. (20) Thithriyan a successor of Ay-andiran joined the confederacy of princes against the Pándya Nedunj-cheliyan and was defeated by him in the battle of Alankánam. (21) Porunan was

(16) Ibid. 109.
(17) Ibid. 117.
(18) Malai-padu-kadâm.
(19) Puram. 127-132.
(20) Ibid. 130.
(21) Akam. 36.

the family name of the princes of Nânjil-nád which was situated west of the Pothiya Hill. (22) His territory is still known as Nanjil-nàd and forms a portion of the modern state of Travancore.

Palayan Maran prince of Mohoor was the head of the ancient tribe of Marar who were settled near the Pothya hill and who were the original stock from which the Pandyan kings were descended· During the reign of the Pandyan, Nedunjcheliyan I, Palayan Maran was next to the king, the highest dignitary in the state. (23) When the Chola king Killi-Valavan beseiged Madura with a large army, Palayan Maran attacked him with a powerful force consisting of warriors mounted on fleet steeds and fierce elephants and utterly routed the Chola army. (24) The Chera king Cheng-kudduvan is said to have once invaded the territory belonging to Palayan Maran in order to chastise him for an insult offered to one of the princes feudatory to the Chera. (25)

The chiefs of Alumbil Kuthirai-malai, Pali and Thakadoor were subordinates to the Chera king. Alumbil Vel was lord of Alumbil, a town situated most probably in Kuddanad. The Pandya Nedunjcheliya I, who invaded the dominion of the Chera attacked and defeated Alumbil Vel and annexed all his territory to the Pandyan kingdom. (26) After the death ot that redoubtable monarch, Alumbil Vel appears to have recovered his territory and we find him to be one of the leading noblemen in the court of the Chera Chengkudduvan. (27) Piddan-Korran, lord of the mountain Kuthirai-malai was the commander-in-chief of the Chera army. (28) Venman was the title of the princes of Pali, a fortified town in the gold mining district, which comprised the whole of the country now known as Coorg, North Wynaad and north-east Malabar. (29) Two other towns in the province were Arayam and Viyalur. (30) Nannan-Venmàn a prince of Pali acquired notoriety as a murderer, having condemned to death a girl whom her relations offered to save with

(22) Puram. 137-140.
(23) Mathuraik-kânchi.
(24) Akam. 345.
(25) Chilapp-athikâram xxvii—124, 126.
(26) Mathuraik-kâvelu.
(27) Chilapp-athikaram.
(28) Puram. 172.
(29) Akam. 257-396.
(30) Akam. 97—Puram. 202, 203.

a ransom of nine times her weight in gold! (31) A prince of this line was defeated by the Chera king Kalankaik-kanni-nàr-mudich-cheral in the battle of Perunthurai. (32)

Athiyaman, chief of the tribe of Malavar, was the ruler of Thakadoor the modern Dharmapuri in the district of Salem. (33) His ancestors introduced the cultivation of the sugar-cane into Southern India. (34) Nedumân-anchi was the head of the Athya-màn clan during the reign of the Chera king Perunj-cheral-Irum-porai. He invaded Maladu and sacked Kovalur the capital of Malayaman. (35) The bard Paranar praised his achievements on that occasion. Being an ambitious and warlike chief he wished to extend his territory, and althongh the Chera king was willing to bestow on him all the land which lay around Kuthirai-malai with-in sight from the top of that high mountain, the chief asked for more. This led to war and the Chera king had to march with his army to Thakadoor to subdue the refractory chief. During the seige of Thakadoor Nedumàn-anchi was mortally wounded and died soon afterwards. I have described the seige already in the account of the Chera king Perunj-cheral-Irumporai. (36) The poetess Avvaiyar who was a great favourite in the court of the Athiyaman describes in the following verse the terror with which neighbouring chief beheld him and his fierce soldiers:—

" Those who see thy brigades of war elephants marching with their tusks blunted by battering thy enemies' forts renew the strong bars with which the gates of their fort are bolted ; those who see thy troops of horse whose hoofs are covered with the blood of their foes whom they had trampled to death, block the entrances to their fort with stout thorny trees : those who see thy sharp lances which pierce the hardest shields, repair and strengthen their shields ; those who see thy fierce soldiers who bear on their body many a scar left by sword cuts, waste not the arrows from their quivers : and thou not deterred by the poisonous smoke of the seeds of the *Iyyavi*, which thy enemies burn at their fortgates to keep off your

(31) *Pen kolai purinta Nannan.*
(32) Akam. 198.
(33) Puram. 230.
(34) Puram. 99.
(35) Ibid.
(36) Thakadûr Yáththirai.

army, sieze and kill them like the god of death. Alas! Who can save the fertile lands of thy enemies whose fields are covered with waving corn?" (37)

From the foregoing brief history of the three Kings and their subordinate chiefs it will be seen that they were frequently at war with each other and that their subjects lived in the midst of wars and wars' alarms. It may well be asked therefore how it was possible for the arts of peace to flourish under such conditions. The answer is simple. It was only the men, trained to the profession of arms, who engaged in war, while the rest of the people resided within walled towns, and followed unmolested their different callings. The poorer classes who lived in villages remote from the capital towns were exposed to frequent attacks from the neighbouring chiefs and suffered terrible hardships. Their cattle were carried away, their houses were burnt down and they were driven out of the village or slaughtered if they offered the least resistance. The large population of the great cities such as Madura, Karur and Kavirippaddinam enjoyed however almost perfect immunity from the horrors of war. The inhabitants of most of the important towns which were strongly fortified were likewise secure from the evils attending an occupation by a hostile army. It was in these fortified towns that trade and manufactures were carried on to the mutual advantage of the artisans and the public. Caravans of merchants travelled from town to town escorted by soldiers. The principal thorough fares in the interior of the country were guarded by the king's soldiers and tolls were levied on these highways. The system of Government, which was far from despotic, also conduced to the public welfare.

The head of the Government was a hereditary monarch. His power was restricted by five councils, who were known as the "Five Great Assemblies." (38) They consisted of the representatives of the people, priests, physicians, astrologers or augurs and ministers. The council of representatives safe-guarded the rights and privileges of the people: the priests directed all religious ceremonies: the physicians attended to all matters affecting the health of the

(37) Puram. 98.

(38) Chilapp-athikáram iii. l. 126—Ibid. v. l. 157 – Ibid xxvi. 38. Mani-mekhalai. i. l. 17.

king and his subjects: the astrologers fixed auspicious times for public ceremonies and predicted important events: the ministers attended to the collection and expenditure of the revenue and the administration of justice. (39) Separate places were assigned in the capital town, for each of these assemblies, for their meetings and transaction of business. (40) On important occasions they attended the king's levee in the throne hall or joined the royal procession. It will be very interesting to know more of the constitution of the "Five Great Assemblies": but no further information is available in the ancient poems which are now extant. The power of Government was entirely vested in the king and in the "Five Great Assemblies." It is most remarkable that this system of Government was followed in the three kingdoms of the Pandya, Chola and Chera, although they were independent of each other. There is reason to believe therefore that they followed this system of Government which obtained in the country from which the founders of the "three kingdoms" had originally migrated, namely, the Magadha Empire.

The person of the king was surrounded with much pomp and dignity. He was served by a numerous company of attendants. They are frequently mentioned as "the eight groups of attendants" which were as follow (41):—

Perfumers, garland-makers, betel-bearers, arecanut-servers, armourers, dressing valets, torch or light bearers and body guards.

The king wore a long crown of a conical shape made of gold and set with precious stones. Armlets of gold on his arms, an anklet of gold on the right leg, and a necklace of pearls or precious stones were the other principal ornaments usually worn by him. A superb umbrella adorned with strings of pearls was held over him while he was seated on his throne, or wherever he went outside his palace. He generally rode on an elephant or on horseback or on a chariot drawn by horses. Big drums resounded at his palace gate, early at dawn and at sunset. Time criers were employed in the palace to cry out the end of each *Nâlikai* which was reckoned by hour-glasses.(42)

(39) Chilapp-athikaram, aium-patha urai on live 157. canto v.
(40) Mathuraik-kânchi.
(41) See foot note (38)
(42) Chilapp-athikaram. v. l. 49. Mathuraik-kânchi. 670, 671.

A portion of the palace was always set apart for the use of the queen and her attendants. She did not wear a crown unless she had inherited the monarchy in her own right. On all public occasions, she took her seat on the throne along with the king; but her apartments in the palace were not accessible to males.(43) Dwarfs and hunch-backs and eunuchs besides a number of noble maidens waited upon her.(44) The attendants of the Chera queen Venmál who accompanied her when she came to meet her husband Chenkkudduvan, on her palace terrace, on a moon-light night, are described as follow in the Chillap-athikaram(45):—

"Some of the maids came singing sweetly, sounding the drum or the lute: dwarfs and hunch-backs carried musk and sandal ointments: eunuchs clothed in women's dress, brought fragrant pastes and powders: some held in their hands scents and incense, garlands of flowers and soft cusions: some carried mirrors, garments and jewels: while other maids, who wore bracelets which glittered in the light of the lamps they bore, shouted 'long live the queen'!"

V. KANAKASABHAI PILLAI.

(To be Continued.)

(43) Nedu-nal-vâdai.
(44) Chilapp-athikaram. xx. l. 17.
(45) Ibid xxviii. ll. 53-64.

THE GOLD NECKLACE—A TALE OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

"IT is hard, indeed. Just look at our neighbour's child. He looks so charming in his gold necklace. Won't you have one made for our boy?"

The speaker was a Brahman woman,—almost a girl—of twenty, in all the charms of prematurely budding oriental womanhood. She looked beautiful, enchantingly beautiful. Her dark eyes vied with her glossy tresses which had been neatly tied up in a braid. Her dress—a plain black *sari* with yellow silk fringes reaching down to her ankles in graceful folds, was wrapped round her slender waist and passing across her bosom and over her left shoulder half concealed and half disclosed to view the silk bodice underneath, which, assorted so well with her delicate golden complexion. She held her darling boy on her left hip, and her left arm gently twined round her lovely child.

She was talking to her husband. Tall and well-made, his was a figure worth looking at. His high forehead, his deep penetrating eyes proclaimed a man of mighty intellect. And so indeed he was. He had made a name for profound scholarship in Sanskrit. Though only thirty years old, men much his seniors in age were content to sit at his feet and learn. Drawn by his name, students from all corners of the Southern districts of South India poured to the humble village, and the *pials* of the neat and well-laid-out Brahman streets resounded with the voices of the students assiduously conning their lessons in Grammar, Logic, and Philosophy. Queer students they were! With ages ranging from fifteen to forty, with no cares save those incidental to studentship, they divided their time between study and services to their teacher,—services which they considered as their humble payment for the wisdom that flowed from his lips. And the villagers, rich and poor, vied with one another in housing and boarding them *gratis* and in showing them those little kindnesses which made them forget they were strangers to the place. At the time of our story, about twenty-five

years back, many were the villages that answered to this description. And now!—But let us to our story.

It was 11 A. M. Rama Sastri—for that was the name of the teacher—had just dismissed his students from their morning studies and had gone in for his midday ablutions and dinner. A little tired after his exhausting work, he threw himself on the cradle meant for his child, which was suspended from the roof in the centre of the parlour, and was gently rocking himself to and fro. His wife Lakshmi had completed her preparations against the dinner, and having a few minutes to spare before her husband was due, was sitting with her boy on her lap and was now and then devouring him with kisses and uttering those apparently meaningless words of endearment which only an Indian mother knows how to use. And the child, with his big eyes wide open, stared at the mother and was perhaps trying, in his own infantine way, to get at the meaning of those huggings, those kisses and those words. Hearing now the light step of her husband she almost instinctively started up with her child and slinging to his side with a graceful swing of her oscillant hips talked to him as related in the opening sentences.

They had been married some years. With no mother-in-law to step between the wife and her beloved, and mar their married bliss, their five or six years of married life had sped on as so many minutes. Their minds had been one till now: his word, her law, his wishes, hers. On one point she now ventured to differ from him. With a self-abnegation that was truly wife-like, she had resisted her love for jewels—a mania much too strong for the ordinary type of Indian womanhood—and had contented herself with the minimum set of jewellery prescribed by the unwritten laws of female etiquette in India. But where her child was concerned, her maternal fondness overcame other feelings. Would he not have a necklace for his boy? Oh! How nice would it be! Now there was a dear. Would he not do it?

So she tried to coax him into her views. For once, he stood proof to all her coaxing.

"Well, my dear girl, your wish is natural. Neither do I grudge the money. But a jewel on the boy means temptation to avarice, a risk to the child's life. Shall I quote you an instance? It will curdle your blood to hear it."

He had hardly done speaking when there was a tap at the door. Lakshmi laid her child on the ground, went to the door and opened it. Her cousin—Krishna Aiyar—whom she had not seen for a number of years, stepped in, with his knapsack over his left shoulder. In her surprise at his unexpected visit, she confusedly dropped a word of welcome, and hurried in. Rama Sastri got up from his seat on the cradle and greeted him with a few words of welcome, which might, to a close observer, have appeared a little strained. To explain this, we have to go back to an earlier period of our story.

CHAPTER II.

Rama Sastri and Krishna Aiyar had been fellow-students. They had studied under the same teacher. Rama—the surname *Sastri* was a later addition indicative of scholarship—was a bright lad even then and gave promise of his later literary eminence. His conduct was as exemplary, and his disposition was as amiable as his intellect was lofty. But not so Krishna. Envious and revengeful by nature, he sought to make up for his want of intellect by low cunning and dissimulation. Many a time and oft had he tried to bring his companion into disfavour with the teacher, and ingratiate himself into his good graces. But he failed, and failed miserably. Judging by his own mind, he was not loath to attribute his failure to the superior tactics—as he called it—of his rival, and he hated Rama all the more for it. To crown all, there came to him a mortification compared with which all that had gone before was nothing.

Krishna's uncle—his mother's brother—had an only daughter. The girl was then about ten years old—the age at which Brahman girls are generally betrothed. To a respectable parentage and the prospect of a rich dowry, she united in her person the inestimable advantages of exceptional personal charms and a sweet disposition. She had many tempting offers for her hand, but from her childhood, the father had destined her for his nephew, and so declined all other alliances. The time being come to give away her hand in betrothal, he wished to see how far the bridegroom-elect had progressed in his studies, and with this intent paid a visit to the teacher.

"Sir," said he to the teacher, when they two were alone together, "you know the object of my visit. I hope you approve of my choice. I daresay the boy is getting on well."

"Hem! I should think so," replied the teacher. This introductory 'hem' was not very assuring.

"Have you anything to say against my nephew?" asked Subbier in an anxious tone.

"Well, sir, I request you to stay here a few days and judge for yourself. I hope you may have no fault to find with him."

At the best, this was not encouraging. Subbiar stayed a few days with the teacher. The result was as might be expected. At the best of times, Krishna with his sly looks and downcast eyes had but a poor chance. Added to it there was now the constrast with the intelligent and amiable Rama. The latter scored heavy odds against poor Krishna, and the heart of Subbier gradually and insensibly warmed towards Rama. He inquired into his antecedents and learned that Rama, left an orphan at an early age, was taken into the home of the childless preceptor, who brought him up as his own son, that the teacher had had no cause to regret the step he had taken, and that he felt more than repaid for his pains by the filial affection and dutiful behaviour of his adopted son. Thus drawn towards Rama, Subbiar cast about in his mind between Rama and Krishna, and after various conflicting cogitations ultimately decided in favour of the former. The preliminary negotiations were gone through; astrologers were consulted, and the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom were cast. The betrothal came off with great *eclat*, much to the satisfaction of all parties concerned and the chagrin of the discomfited Krishna. Krishna's parents felt sorely wounded by this affront to their dignity and the mother, even more than the father, resolved to cut Subbiar and his new connections. As a result of this, Krishna was withdrawn from his studies and was taken home to be initiated into the mysteries of rupees, annas, and pies, his father being a noted usurer. Rama had tried to be friends with Krishna, but his attempts at conciliation were fruitless.

"Truce to your tactics, sirrah," said Krishna, your plans have for the time succeeded; but let us see who wins the race in the long run. You shall rue the day you crossed my path."

Thus their ways had parted. Krishna assiduously applied himself to his profession and soon out-stripped his father in the art of making money beget money. His father died shortly—died with the satisfaction of knowing that his mantle had fallen on worthy shoulders and that his son was quite equal to sustaining the dignity of his profession. And Krishna soon made a prudent match and settled in life, and was admired by all for the ease with which he fleeced his 'constituents' of their assets.

Rama, in the meanwhile, completed his course of studies, and resolved to devote himself to intellectual pursuits. His preceptor and adoptive father gave over his possessions to Rama and lived a pious and secluded life. He did not live long after his retirement, but to the last breath of his life he was waited on by Rama who ministered to his comforts with a tenderness inspired by affection and stimulated by reverence. And Lakshmi—once the bride-elect of Krishna, but now the wife of Rama—had by this time blossomed into a lovely woman and vied with her husband in doing those little services to the revered old man, which only a woman's instinct can think of, and only a woman's delicate fingers, execute. Lakshmi's parents too had died in the meanwhile and thus Rama, having few wants and fewer relatives to provide for, considered the property left by his father-in-law more as an encumbrance than a fortune, and leaving it in the management of a trustworthy agent divided his time between improving himself and instructing others.

CHAPTER III.

"Welcome, friend," said Rama Sastri "It is a rare visit. I hope your people are doing well."

There is not much meaning in these words of welcome. Indian etiquette accords to all guests alike, a reception of this nature.

"Thank you, cousin" replied Krishna "I am doing pretty well. Is that your boy? Such a nice child! I wish you joy of him."

With that he caught up the child in his arms, kissed him on both the cheeks and laid him down. Rama said,

"It is time for dinner. Yonder is the river, where you can conveniently perform your ablutions. Make haste and be back here soon. We shall talk over earlier times after dinner."

After dinner they sat and talked of old days. Krishna Aiyar referred to the days when they were chums, and the tricks he had played then. But in all his talk there was no tinge of his earlier jealousy, no trace of ill-feeling towards the fortunate rival. This was an agreeable surprise to Rama.

"I am so glad to have seen you," said Rama Sastri "you are so altered from what you were. It is really a pleasure to meet a friend with whom one can talk over old times."

"Well, friend," said Krishna "you may have heard of Chellam Chetty in a village not far from here. He is a well-to-do merchant. I have money dealings with him and had gone to him on business. You being so near, I thought I might pay you a visit. I owe you one. You know when last we met I parted from you in anger. I have got over those childish fancies. We will forget old sores and be friends."

These words took Rama by surprise. He was not prepared to find Krishna so magnanimous. He was sincerely glad of the reconciliation that had taken place, and pressed Krishna to stay with him for a week.

This was the very thing Krishna Sastri wished. Business had brought him to a village near. Having come so far, he thougnt he might as well see how his old rival was getting on. At first sight he had been smitten with his cousin's beauty, 'But for that cursed humbug, this paragon of beauties might be mine.' So he thought, and at that thought, hatred of his rival, which had lain dormant so long, revived once more. And he resolved to possess himself of her person if not of her love. These thoughts had passed through his mind in much less time than it has taken to write, and he shaped his course accordingly. How well he managed to mask his real feelings has been seen in the previous paragraphs.

So he said "I have pressing engagements; but I will put them off. The temporary inconvenience is nothing to the valuable friendship I have been fortunate enough to secure."

Thus he had found time to mature his plans. He looked about him and pitched upon two young men—Swami and Sundaram by name—two declared libertines for his accomplices. Rama Sastri had once tried to bring these two to a sense of their shameless conduct. But they had resented his intrusion and thus owed him a

grudge. They were willing to lend themselves to any scheme against Rama Sastri and would suit Krishna's purpose admirably. They were taught their parts and were only waiting for an opportunity to set the scheme agoing. Meanwhile Krishna Aiyar was all smiles in Rama's home and appeared the rose while he was really the serpent underneath.

CHAPTER IV.

It was a fine moon-lit night. There was not a speck of cloud in the blue sky. The sun had set an hour or so, the short twilight—so short in the tropics—had entirely vanished, and the moon danced in the heavens in all the charms of rich, unclouded effulgence so peculiar to Eastern climes. The silvery brook glided along in gentle murmurs, and lost itself in a verdent grove of mangoes. The stream of water, ankle-deep and not more than a yard in breadth, had shrunk into the narrow proportions of autumn, and ran in the middle of the bed, laying bare on either side the gentle undulations of fine white sand. A slight dam of sand had been put up across a portion of the bed, through which the sparkling water oozed out into a rill. The water thus filtered was used by the Brahmans of the village for their morning and evening ablutions. By the side of this rill, the sand had been elevated to a higher level and spread evenly over a space of ten yards square. Early morning and at sunset might be seen on this platform a number of Brahmans with their three-lined marks of ashes on their fore-heads, offering their prayers to the rising and the departed sun.

On this bright spot, now brighter still with the flood of moonlight, Rama Sastri was seated alone, drinking in the beauty of the scene. It was a lovely sight—lovely enough to lure him into a reverie. There was no hum of busy human voices to rouse one to the stern realities of life. From a distance came the mellowed music of tinkling bells from a pair of straggling cows that were browsing undisturbed on the meadow in front. Charmed into forgetfulness of self by the harmony of nature around him, and unconscious of the passing of time, he sat there half dreaming and half awake. It is at times like these that the soul of man, soaring above the carking cares of this work-a-day world revels in the poetry of nature, forgetful of its confinement in this mortal tenement of clay.

All at once, his feelings received a rude shock. It came in the form of a voice from behind—a voice in which he heard his wife's name mentioned. He looked behind him and saw two men lying down on the ground under the shade of trees on the southern bank of the stream, and chatting with each other. They had not apparently seen or recognised him, or they were perhaps under the impression that their voice would not reach him. He did not know, poor man, that it was all a trap they had laid for him. Piqued into curiosity, Rama Sastri stealthily glided into the grove and hid himself behind a tree the better to overhear their talk. Thus does suspicion of a wife's honor set at naught the dictates of well-grounded principle. The two men, on the other hand, who had all this while their eye on him felt now secure of their prey, and went on talking as if unaware of the presence of any intruder.

"You don't mean Rama Sastri's wife, do you?" asked one of them.

"I *do* mean her, though," replied the other, "She is an out and out jade, and the fool of a husband is blinded by his infatuation. That is all."

"A fine thing indeed! He a cuckold, and he standing so stiffly on his dignity! Now do tell me all about it. I am burning to know."

"You have seen Krishna Aiyar, who is now a guest of Rama Sastri. He is no good, you know. Well, what does he do but blind Rama with professions of newly awakened regard? He seems to have been carefully nursing his feelings of revenge and has, if I mistake not, almost succeeded in blighting the conjugal felicity of Rama Sastri."

"But surely, Lakshmi is none of that sort. I don't believe she will countenance for a moment any designs of Krishna. You yourself know there has not been a whisper against her till now."

"Belike for want of opportunity. Opportunity makes the jilt. Any how I know what I know, and there is an end of it."

"But you have no evidence for it. You are so ready to believe anything against women."

"Look here, Sundaram, how should I otherwise know the early history of Rama and Krishna, the latter's baffled purpose and his vow of revenge? Nay more. How should I know that an altercation

ensued between Lakshmi and her husband with reference to a necklace for her boy? Rama Sastri mildly yet sternly refused to gratify her wishes on this point. Now appears Krishna on the scene, just in the nick of time. Thanks to the unsuspecting nature of Rama's and his own tact in the management of women, Krishna watched his opportunity and has won his way to the good graces of Lakshmi by a judicious praise of her boy. He has wormed the secret out of her, and, having with him a necklace—an unredeemed pledge—just the one for the boy, has pressed her into accepting it. Lakshmi keeps it all a secret now, but you will see the thing on the boy's neck ere long. Trust me, Lakshmi is a girl to manage any husband. I am in Krishna's secret, but a secret I don't share with you is so stifling. Hence all this trouble to convince you, you defender of the fair sex."

"Well, who could have thought of it! And of Lakshmi too!"

"Mind, my dear friend, the necklace is not the end of the romance. It is but the beginning, and who knows where it shall end? But it is high time; let us be off; supper will be awaiting us."

With this, Swami and Sundaram—for it was they who had enacted this piece of drama—rose up and walked home. Their words had fallen on Rama's ears like molten wax. He did not know what to think of it. He could scarcely believe his ears. Maddened by jealousy, he stood as one bereft of his senses. Was it all a dream—a terrible nightmare conjured up by his own fancy? It could not be. Was he not wide awake? But could it be true? It must be so. Else how to account for this confidential chat, which was not, obviously, meant for any eavesdropping ears. Stranger things had ere now come to pass. He would go and learn everything for himself. There was the test of the necklace; that would decide all.

So he rushed home like one mad. His wife was alarmed by his manner. Her womanly instinct told her that something had gone wrong; but what it was, she could not guess. So inwardly trembling from head to foot, she waited to see what it boded. And she had not to wait long.

"Have you got a necklace with you?" demanded the husband abruptly.

She stood silent,

" Who gave it to you?" This in a sterner tone.

" Hear me, sir, I will tell you all" said Lakshmi beseechingly.

" Who gave it to you? Answer me to the point." This was literally hissed out between his teeth.

" Here me sir, I beseech you. It was Krishna Aiyar who gave it. I will explain everything. I entreat you give me a patient hearing for a few minutes and you shall learn all."

" I have heard enough! Good God! That it should have come to this! Fool that I was, I took you to my heart and cherished you as the idol of my eyes. Blinded by love I thought you an angel; and you too seemed to dote on me as if I were the breath of your life. And this has been my reward!"

He could not say more. His feelings choked him. He durst not trust himself with her any longer. He rushed out of the house as mad as when he entered it. He walked on, not knowing, not heeding where he went. Nature had found this outlet for his troubled spirits. Henceforth he would be dead to his wife and child. Thus in a moment could jealousy undo the work of years of love and trust.

What a powerful passion is the jealousy of the Hindu husband! It blinds the most rational, it lashes into fury the mildest, of the proverbially mild Hindus. It drives them to desperate deeds. Reckless of consequences, the Hindu once goaded on by this Tartar chief of passions rushes on and, only too late, trembles to think what he has done. Woe to the man who rouses his suspicion, woe to the woman who comes under his wrath. The feeling is in his blood and he cannot shake himself out of it.

CHAPTER V.

Words fail to express the tumult of feelings, the agony of soul, that Lakshmi felt, as she stood in the parlour, stunned by the stroke. She did not realise it all at first. He was gone, but surely his gentler feelings would return. But had he been ever in such a passion? It was so unlike him. Gentle natures like his seldom took offence; but if they once received a wound, it seldom healed likewise. Oh! What would become of her if such should be the case with him. But had she done ought to deserve this? Ah! Yes, that cursed necklace. Would that it were in the bottom of the ocean. But surely there was no harm in keeping it safe for her cousin till he

should go back, when she would return it to him. Had she not been loath to accept this trust? But it would have been so unhost-like—not to say uncousinlike—to have refused to take care of it for a few days. Moreover had she not hoped with this to bring her husband round to her views and persuade him into making a similar one for her, no for *his*, boy? And could this be so great an offence then? No. no, there must have been something more at the bottom of all this. She racked her brain for an explanation, but it was no use trying. If he should not come back after all? Was her life then worth living for a moment. But then her child? Yes, if not for herself she must live for her darling son. But what a hard task!

Thus tortured by conflicting thoughts she sat down by the side of her child, who with now a smile on his lips—who can fathom the meaning of those smiles which now and then light up the faces of children in these their hours of sleep?—slept the sleep of childhood unconscious of the bitter woes of her who had given him birth. She sat for a long while, resting her left cheek on her left knee which, planted between the ground and her cheek, looked as if it had approached her ears to pour into them words of consolation and comfort. She gazed long and deeply on her child as she thus mused on, till tears filling her eyes streamed down her cheeks and she could not see. Then with a sob, she lay down by the side of her child, hugged him close to her bosom as if in fear of being parted from this her only treasure now, and all night wetted her pillow with tears. Oh! Why are the innocent thus trampled down and why are the schemes of the wicked thus suffered to triumph?

Days thus passed by in sorrow and hope. It was sad work for Lakshmi to go about her home, now that the sunlight was fled from it. She still hoped against hope that her husband might relent and come back. But as days went by and her lord came not, her heart sank within her. Her child was now all that was left to her and she clung to him with desperate vehemence.

One day there was a tap at the door. The door was now always more or less fastened. The little commissions for procuring the daily supplies were entrusted to a sudra female servant, who, having faithfully served the family for a long time, had come to be regarded as part and parcel of the household establishment. Rama

Sastri's students, finding their teacher gone, patiently waited for him for a few days. But not knowing when he might return or why and where he had gone, they had dispersed, some to continue their studies under other teachers, others to marry and settle in life. There were thus no visitors in the house save Rama Sastri's agent, who, with true delicasy, rarely intruded on Lakshmi and only called once in a few days to see what she wanted. She was thus generally left alone with her sorrow.

Thump went her heart at this knock at the gate. There was an authoritative ring about it. She opened the door with trembling fingers. But it was only her cousin Krishna Aiyar. Having set the mischief at work, he had wisely taken French leave. Thinking that her grief would have cooled by this time, he now came to complete the work he had set on foot. Pressed by urgent business he had, he said, to go away during his former visit without a formal leave-taking. But was it true, what he had heard about her husband's sudden disappearance? With an air of sincere sorrow he ventured to offer her his sympathy, and with a cousin's interest in her he seemed to fire up with indignation at the unnatural way, as he said, in which her husband had abandoned—yes, *abandoned*—her. He would gently remonstrate with her for her taking on so, and begged permission, if it should be no presumption, to offer her the shelter of his home. Thus did he try to work his way up to her regard and so to her love.

But her very simplicity saved her from being thus duped. She thanked him for his sympathy, blamed herself for what had happened and said that her husband must have had powerful motives for doing what he had done. She once more thanked him for his kind offer, but she would wait for her lord—with what a heavy heart God knows!—in the very house where she had spent so many happy years with him. Finally she went to her room and bringing the necklace gave it back to her cousin saying. "Here, cousin, take your necklace. It has been at the bottom of all the mischief. I do not blame you for it, you meant no harm. There, please take it and return home. I am now a lonely woman and it will not look well if you stay here for ever so short a time."

Krishna was not prepared for the turn that things had taken. His love—rather his passion—burst all bounds of prudence. He

tore off the mask he had till now put on and said vehemently, "Cousin, do not say so. Shall I be doing like a cousin to leave you thus and go away? You know you had once been destined for me. But fates willed otherwise. Thank my stars, they seem to give you back to me now. You shall henceforth rest under my roof. I will be your slave. Let me worship the dust you tread on. There is nothing unseemly in your accepting the offer of my home. The tie of cousinship sanctions such a step and is enough to silence all scandalous tongues."

She heard his words. From all gentleness she instantly turned into a fury. Her whole frame trembled with indignation. She drew herself up, raised aloft her right arm, and pointing to the doorway with her finger said "Be off, you wretch. How dare you to insult a lonely woman thus? Stay here but a minute more, your villainy shall be exposed."

He saw that she would do as she threatened. He had till now passed for a respectable man, and did not wish to be now exposed as a villain. He felt sure that it was as well her interest not to make any fuss about the affair and so the secret of his passion was safe with her. So he thought it best to retreat, but as he retreated he fixed on her a look in which was concentrated all the fury of his baffled passion and thwarted schemes, and said. "Silence, you vixen. I go. But know that you shall live to repent what you have now done. Krishna is not the man to put up with an affront. Your husband has already paid dearly for having crossed my path—let alone yourself. It was I that caused words of poison to be poured into his ears. And mind you shall not go cheaply off for this insolence."

With these words he was gone. She now understood all. Her husband had been deceived—cruelly deceived. Simple and unsuspecting, he had readily fallen into the trap laid for him. She now deeply felt for him. She was sorry that Hindu Society forbade a lonely woman like her to travel alone, even though it were in quest of her husband. She knew that inexperienced as she was in the ways of the world and its villainy, it would not be safe to trust herself alone outside her own roof. So she determined to wait for him where she was.

CHAPTER VI.

Five years had passed since the events related in the preceding chapters took place. Those were weary years for Lakshmi. Her boy had grown into a lovely boy of seven summers and had been put to school a year or two. He was a very beautiful boy. His sweet disposition and winning manners made him a general favourite. His name was Gopal. Even the *pial-school* teacher whose roughness had become part of his nature, dealt gently with this boy. He was the pet of the village. His wide, black eyes---they were his mother's—revealed a gentle, sweet nature and invited kind words from those who spoke to him. The abrupt disappearance of his father and his mother's extreme sorrow added to the interest the people had in the boy.

One evening as he returned from school he went direct to his mother, who, as usual, passed her fingers lightly through his exuberent hair, kissed him on both the cheeks and asked him how he had fared at school. He replied that he had done well and said "Mamma, I have a question to put to you. Our neighbour Ramachandran's father returned yesterday from town, where he had gone on business. He has brought a beautiful dress for Ramachandran—such a nice one! Where is my papa! I should so much like to have a nice present from him. Why doesn't he come? Where is he gone, mamma?"

These questions were perplexing: they called forth a flood of painful recollections. Hastily wiping off the tears from her eyes she said, "Dear boy, it is five years since your father went away. He parted from me in anger. Time may have healed the sore. Let us pray to God for his return."

"Where is God, and will papa return if we pray to Him?" asked the boy.

"If God so pleases, He can restore to you your father, to me my husband. God is great and good. Let us pray to Him to grant our request."

The boy closed his eyes and said in simple heart-felt words "God, restore my father to me. I want him so much. I will worship you with the offering of a cocoanut on papa's return."

The last words were part of a formula he had often heard his companions repeat. Hindu boys—or for that matter grown up men and women—thus tempt their Gods to grant them their prayer.

Sad and heavy had been the heart of Lakshmi: but the child's simple words soothed her sorrow and brought hope to her. Surely God would answer the prayer of innocent childhood.

CHAPTER VII.

One evening Gopal came home from school with a flushed countenance. His heart beat fast ; his eyes were red and swollen ; there was fever in the pulse. "What is the matter with you, child? You don't look well" said the mother embracing him.

"I do not know what ails me, mamma, my head aches so. I fear I have fever ; I feel thirsty."

Lakshmi instantly put him to bed and wrapped him in warm covering. She sat by his side and felt his temples ; they were throbbing. 'Ah me! What shall I do' moaned the mother. She never left his side the whole night. If he clenched his teeth in the heat of fever, she called him by name and asked what ailed him ; but she had no reply. He tossed about uneasily in his bed ; he restlessly shifted his body this way and that ; but it gave him no relief. The desolate mother wrung her hands in despair and did not know what to do. Once he said 'Take the light away ; I can't bear to look at it.' The light was at once removed to a distance and so placed that the shaded side fell on him. Thus the night passed—in fever and restlessness for the boy, in despair and sleeplessness for the mother.

But the worst was yet to come. In the morning the female servant was sent to fetch the village doctor. He was on the wrong side of fifty and was a man of long experience, having plied his profession ever since he came to years of discretion. His father before him had been the village doctor in his time. Profession among Hindus is nothing if not hereditary. The father trained the son and when he felt himself old and unequal to the efficient discharge of his responsibilities made way for the son who directly stepped into his shoes. This village Æsculapius was an old and tried hand, and, armed with certain pills—known as Death-destroyer—the preparation of which was a secret known only to his family, had many a time stoutly wrestled with death. He took

the boy by the wrist, felt his pulse with concentrated attention for a few minutes, drummed on the ground with his fingers and looked grave. Lakshmi who was watching him all the while with breathless suspense asked him to tell her the worst.

"The Vata and the Pitta pulses have effected a junction; it is a bad symptom; but with God's grace worse cases have pulled through with the aid of my pills."

So saying he recited a few verses from Agastyar, applicable to the present case, untied his medicine pouch, took therefrom a pill of the size of a pea and squeezing it to powder mixed it with a little honey. Uttering the name of the Almighty he then put it into the boy's mouth. He also left two more pills with the mother bidding her give the boy one at noon and one in the evening and told her he would call at sunset. By evening Gopal grew worse. His mind began to wander. In preparing for the homeward journey the child's soul seemed to be neglectful of the petty concerns that smelled of the earth. Next morning his mind became clear. It was like the last effort of a light that flames up ere it dies out.

"Mamma," said he "I feel as if I were going away to a better world. There is such sweet music ringing in my ears. Hark there! don't you hear it now?"

The mother was alarmed; she feared his mind was once more wandering; but the boy continued with logical sequence.

"Perhaps it is angels singing—angels that may have been sent to take me to God. Have you not told me, mamma, that there are young boys like me there, always happy, always singing the praise of the Almighty. I should like to go there. Will you go with me mamma? I should feel so lonely there without you."

He closed his eyes: the effort was too much for him.

"Don't go away now, my child," cried the distracted mother. "It is so early. How can I live without you? Oh God! Have mercy and spare my child."

"Mamma," he once more continued, "look there! Don't you see a boy? Such a lovely boy! What a sweet smile he has! He beckons to me, mamma. Shall I go? Wait till papa comes home and then bring him to me. Kiss me, mamma, don't take on so. There again don't you see that lovely boy? He is in such a hurry. So kiss me and let me go."

The mother stared round but saw none. Was it that at the approach of death, when the soul was about to be released from the trammels of the senses, the restrictions of time and space disappeared, and it could see things that are beyond the ken of mortal eyes? The mystery of death baffles our powers of solution; yet attracted by the interest the problem has to us, we hover round it like the moth lured by lamplight, only perhaps to perish likewise.

Lakshmi kissed her boy and hugged him with desperate vehemence, as if she could thereby save her darling son from the clutches of death; but even as she did so, his soul had quietly winged its heavenward flight.

The sweet, the gentle Gopal was dead. The pet of the village was gone. Lakshmi had swooned over her boy and lay unconscious of her bereavement. Such are the wise dispensations of Providence that when sorrow is most poignant it is least felt. The sad news spread through the village creating a blank in the heart of every one who heard it. Many a family felt the loss as its own. Young and old, men and women, poured into her house to offer her their heartfelt sympathy. It was no made up face of the formal mourner that they carried with them. Her sweet disposition, her modest unobtrusive manners, the mysterious disappearance of her husband and last but not least this heavy stroke drew tears from many an eye where the fountains of sympathy were believed to have dried up. Old hags who through long familiarity with scenes of death had become callous to the visits of the Grim Destroyer felt for her in a way that was surprising to themselves. Verily Death is fastidious in his selection. Many were there who were better dead than alive, peevish and helpless, a burden to themselves and their relatives—long past the 'three score years and ten' alloted to man on earth. But there they were, complaining and complained of, with no near prospect of release from mortal bonds. And yet this lovely boy had been 'snatched away in beauty's bloom.'

CHAPTER VIII.

A rude bier was constructed and the boy was placed on it to be carried away to the burning-ground. The mother now came to herself. Suddenly recollecting what had happened, she looked about for her boy, and seeing him about to be carried away, rushed

forth to possess herself of her child. But her neighbours restrained her saying. "He is gone never to return. What avails his body now? How can we poor mortals struggle against fate? What is to come will come. No use fretting one's self about it."

Sad comfort these words; but they did not fall on her ears. In her paroxysm of grief she struck her head against the ground, tore her hair, and beat her breast exclaiming wildly 'Oh cruel men, they have taken away my child. Why don't they take me too?'

There is no unmixed evil under the sun. The sight of such deep sorrow seldom fails to touch the hardest of hearts, and men who have never known what it is to feel for fellow-men unconsciously open their minds, on such occasions, to gentler influences. In the economy of Universal Statecraft Providence seems to set aside individual considerations when the interests of a community are concerned.

Sundaram was one of those who were deeply impressed by this scene. Our readers may remember him as one of the two who had contrived to send Rama Sastri away from his wife. He was more thoughtless than really wicked, and when he consented to play the part he played he did not dream that things would go so far. Disposed now in a penitent frame of mind to reconsider his part in the tragedy he blamed himself for all that had happened and swore with himself to repair as far as he could the mischief he had done.

What shall we say of Lakshmi's sorrow? It was too deep for words. The last link that bound her to earth seemed to have snapped asunder. The severe strain on her nerves brought on brain fever and for many days she lay betwixt life and death. But youth is tough and thanks to a sound constitution and the tender ministrations of a widowed neighbour she pulled through. The long illness and the longer period of convalescence did her good in one way. Grief for her lost son was still strong in her breast, but it was subdued. She would talk of him as though he were alive. He might be dead to all the world; but was alive to her. She would dust and air his clothes and carefully stow them in the wardrobe. She would look at his toys and hug and kiss them as if they were himself. So hours would glide by in this silent communion between the dead and the living. But whenever she thought of her husband she melted into tears. The death of her child was by some

inexplicable process connected in her mind with her absent spouse and the thought of the latter roused up in her mind a host of tormenting recollections and she yearned to pour her heart to him about her darling child.

CHAPTER IX.

The scene is now shifted to a beautiful village on the banks of the Kaveri. It was a fine April morning. The golden rays of the sun gilded the tops of the verdent groves that fringed the banks of the sacred stream. Adjoining the bathing-ghaut was a long tiled shed open on one side. Here on this morning was assembled almost all the elderly Brahman population of the village. They were listening with rapt attention to the words that fell from the lips of a Sastri, who, seated on a plank in the centre, was holding forth on religion. Now and then another who was seated by him read out a few verses from a book of *cadjan* leaves before him, and the Sastri taking them for his text poured out his soul in words of thrilling eloquence, and his audience were swayed as they had never been before. There had been similar readings ere the Sastri came in their midst, but they had been tame and soporific, and were listened to mainly by elderly matrons and widows, from a feeling that attendance on such occasions conferred spiritual benefit and gave them a status and a name for religious fervour. But it was different with the lectures of this Sastri. His words were simple, yet sweet. His illustrations were drawn from every day experience and they brought home to the minds of his hearers the religious and moral truths he was explaining. There was a tinge of sadness in his face, that harmonised well with his words when lifting high his pensive eyes he spoke to them of the vanity of human joys. The lecture on the day in question was over by ten o'clock and his audience dispersed severally, save one or two that lingered behind to take the Sastri to dinner.

He had come to the village only a few months back. His majestic form inspired the villagers with confidence; his soft and winning ways endeared him to them; his learning and eloquence extorted their admiration and respect. His antecedents were unknown; but it was no matter. There was a regular scramble among the Brahmans of the village who were well-to-do landed proprietors to take him to their homes and feast him.

Need we say that he was none other than Rama Sastri who, ever since he turned his back on his home, was thus going about from village to village sowing seeds of wisdom wherever he went, and who was feted and lionised for his learning and moral worth? Yet in the midst of all these adulations he was not happy. There was a blank in the heart which it was hard to fill up. Now and then he thought he might have been a little hasty, but having a stern—rather overstern—sense of duty he attributed these gentler thoughts to the suggestions of the baser nature in him, and with a stoical severity strengthened himself against these, as he considered them to be, temptations.

Rama Sastri was about to follow his host for the day, when Sundaram stepped in front of him and begged for a short interview. The sight of one that belonged to his native village stirred up strange emotions in his breast. He longed to hear a word of her he had left behind. But no, he would not thus compromise his dignity. He would rather crush his rebellious heart that ran after one who, he thought, had forfeited all claims to his affection and regard. And then to inquire of this man of all men! But he would not appear rude. It would not be right to avoid one who had voluntarily courted his notice. So he said—

"Ah! Is it Sundram? I hope you do well.

"Thank you," replied Sundram "I am doing pretty well. But I do not deserve these kind words from you. I have done you naught but injury and you speak to me as to a friend."

"Young man," said Rama "know man cannot harm man unless he be a tool in the hands of the Almighty; but in his ignorance he thinks he has done it all. Oh! vain delusion."

"But sir," replid Sundaram "I knew full well what I was about to do and what would come of it. But I forget you do not know all. When you learn what I did, you will see reason to change your opinion."

"Whatever you may have done, you feel sorry for it now. That is the best amends you can make. But will you let me know what you want? You seemed to have something particular to talk to me."

"I have bad news for you sir. But let me first of all tell you you did wrong in having so hastily parted from your wife. She is

innocent. She is an angel and I purposely vilified her in your presence to set you against her and send you away from her. And she has suffered enough,—more than man can bear. Your child too is dead—the child that sustained her in your absence. Oh! It is dreadful to think what she has gone through. And yet she is so virtuous, so innocent."

With a beating heart Rama Sastri now heard all the particulars—Krishna's villainous scheme, Sundaram's share in the plot, the history of his son who was a general favourite in the village, his death, her subsequent sorrow and illness. He did not feel the death of his son so much, not having lived at home long enough to have loved him. But he felt for his suffering wife. He could understand how much she must have suffered. Many a time during the course of the narration he sobbed aloud—this stoic—and found it hard not to betray his agitation. When he had heard all he said—

"Sundaram, I thank you from my heart for the service that you have now done. Few would have thus come forward to accuse themselves. Will you let me know what people thought of my sudden disappearance?"

"What could they think of it? It was a mystery they could not solve. If your wife had not been so far above the breath of suspicion, the reason would not have been far to seek. But baffled for an explanation in that direction they supposed that your Vedantic turn of mind had had developed into insanity. Your agent offered to go in quest of you. But your wife deterred him from the pursuit saying 'No, my lord is wise enough. He needs none to guide him. He would not have gone without sufficient reasons. When he thinks it fit to return he will. Let him not then be disturbed. I know enough of him to guess he will resent it as a rude intrusion.' Thus the matter dropped."

"Sundaram, I thank you once more. But will you do me a favour? Will you promise that the secret shall live and die with us? Will you also manage to tie the tongues of Krishna and that other accomplice of yours?"

"Nothing is easier," replied Sundaram, "Self-interest, if nothing else, will keep me from giving out my share in the base plot. As for my accomplice, he died a victim to his excesses. And do you know, sir? Krishna has turned mad. He had lent a large sum

of money to one who, he thought, was in affluent circumstances; but the man became a bankrupt and Krishna is now a maniac. But Krishna is harmless in his madness, though he suffers enough. Whenever he appears in the street, the urchins at play hoot and follow him, and torment him in a variety of ways. It is a pitiable sight. He rarely talks: When he talks, it is only about his money So your secret is safe and you need have no apprehensions on that score."

Little more remains to be said. Thus assured Rama hastened home. We need not dwell much on the meeting of the parted pair. Long and silently they pressed against each other and mingled their tears in one stream. At last she said "our boy is dead and with his last words bade me take you to him. Now that you have come I feel as if our child were restored to us."

Rama Sastri's philosophy knew not to account for the temporary triumph of vice by theorising on the powerlessness of the Divine Architect. He said—

"God is great: His ways are inscrutable; but let us remember that they are just. It is presumption to seek to measure His wisdom with the aid of our limited faculties."

B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IN a recent number of this Review we drew the attention of our readers to the position of Indians in South Africa. The question has now assumed an acute phase. We have received a bulky memorial to Mr. Chamberlain proceeding from the representatives of the British Indians in Natal in which they complain of the attitude of the colonists against them and pray for his intervention as secretary of the colonies.

In India it is a matter of reproach that on the Congress platform Hindu patriots demand equal rights for all, denounce the arrogance of the European caste, refer Englishmen to their own and American History in vindication of the equal rights of man ; and that while claiming such rights themselves, also try to uphold in all its severity the rigid rules of caste, deny social equality to the lower castes solely on that account, and wherever possible prefer the interests of the caste Hindus as against the Pariahs &c. According to our opponents there is no doubt the conduct of the Caste Hindus towards the others is in direct contravention of the principles which they invoke in their agitation against the political supremacy of Englishmen.

Similarly though Congressmen are vehement in their denunciation of the policy of placing the interests of a few Anglo-Indians above that of the millions of Indian taxpayers, yet when any legislation is proposed in India intended to help the toiling millions against the wealthy few, many of these gentlemen come forward with specious arguments based on old notions of property and denounce such legislation as revolutionary and subversive of Society. To take only one more instance. If there is one matter on which all Congressmen are agreed, from one end of India to the other, it is on the benefits of Education. In the Legislative Councils, at public meetings, and in fact on every possible occasion the necessity of imparting education is insisted upon and any policy of Government which has a retrograde tendency is denounced : yet Englishmen ask us how many Caste Hindus are there who are in favor of imparting education in Vedas, and Sastras, to the low Castes.

Our English friends are not much better. In England, when the Roman Catholics were in power, the other sects claimed and were denied freedom of conscience. When their positions were reversed and those sects attained power they were as ardent persecutors as any and the Roman Catholics then discovered the virtue of toleration. The same story is repeated in our own times. The English dictionary was ransacked to find terms to express the horror and disgust of the English people on account of what are called the Armenian massacres. In Transvaal the Englishmen are indignant because certain political privileges are denied them by men of an alien race. The reluctance of the Dutch settlers, who are afraid of the political predominance, which the English Colonists would acquire if equal rights are granted, is likely to be made the pretext of a war between England and Transvaal and the very Johannesburg newspapers which are loudest in their denunciations of Dutch tyranny do not hesitate to uphold doctrines directly the reverse, when they have to deal with a state of things very similar but where the application of the liberal principles would be the detriment of the interests of their own race.

Till very recently Natal has openly encouraged Indian immigration, with considerable benefit to the colonists as well as to themselves. For it maybe assumed that the Europeans would not have thus assisted the Indians to prosper unless their presence had been conducive to their own prosperity as well. Those Indians who go to Natal are of two classes, the indentured and the free. The indentured Indians are employed by the European agriculturists, employed in thousands as farm servants as well also as domestic servants, on account of their great superiority to the Kaffir population as laborers, and they are considered so useful that indentures for hundreds come to India by almost every mail. The objection is not so much to this indentured cooly as to the free Indian but every indentured cooly must become a free Indian after the expiration of his term and if free Indians are not wanted, why do the colonists bring so many indentured coolies into Natal? The remedy appears very simple, let them not employ cooly labor. The colonists no doubt attempted to compel the return of the Indentured Indian at the end of the contract but the attempt was unsuccessful. Now as to the Free Indian. The Indian trader obviously could not exist

without the help of European merchants. It is said that there is scarcely any Commercial House of any standing in Durban which has not scores of Indians as "clients." As to the Indian who takes to agriculture, he must rent his land from a European and his products must be sold to European households. We understand that the people of Durban and other parts of the colony would find themselves very badly off for kitchen requisites if it were not for coolie market gardeners and hawkers. As to the Indian domestic servant but for the help afforded by the Europeans, he could not exist. So that if the colonists are pretty unanimous in their attitude against the Indian no question can possibly arise. The poor Indians who emigrate would only be too glad to return to India at the conclusion of the period of Indenture.

In support of these conclusions we may refer to the report of one of the commissioners appointed to report on Indian matters nearly 10 years ago.

"So far as concerns free Indian traders, their competition and the consequent lowering of the articles of consumption by which the public benefits (and yet strange to say of which it complains) it is clearly shown that these Indian shops have been and are most exclusively supported by the larger firms of white merchants who thus practically employ these men to dispose of their goods."

As to the benefits the colony has derived the following extract is sufficient in our opinion.

"Twenty Five years ago in the towns and townships, fruits, vegetables, and fish could hardly be bought. A cauliflower sold for half a crown. Why did not farmers go in for market gardening? There may have been some laziness, but on the other hand, to grow wholesale was useless. I have known the case of cartloads of fruit &c. sent a long way, but in good condition to the city, unsaleable. The party who would give half a crown for a stray cauliflower would naturally demur to give a shilling for one, when he saw a waggon-load of them. Here we needed an industrious class of hawkers who could live cheaply and find pleasure and profit in supplying these wants and we got it in the time expired indentured coolie. And for waiters and cooks, public or private, the coolie has supplied want, for in these matters the mass of our

natives are awkward, and when not, as soon as carefully taught, are off to their kraals."

The Indian therefore has been of great benefit to the colony. That the Indian wherever he goes is amenable to law does not require any argument. If then these Indians are a law-abiding people, if their presence has been beneficial to the colony, and desired and encouraged by apparently a large section of Europeans, what is the basis of this agitation against them? We shall quote their own words.

"The frugal Indian, imported because of his power to assist the colonist in working in country at a profit, has established himself as a dangerous trade competitor, has himself developed into a settler and threatens to oust his old employer from the market" *Star Johannesburg.*

The Indian laborer if an artisan will work longer hours and take a lower wage cheerfully than the European mechanic and the Indian trader will sell his things cheaper than the white storekeeper. They are afraid thus of being supplanted by the Indian. But an Englishman is remarkable in discovering arguments to support his position. It is said that further immigration ought not to be allowed as the Indians already in the colony require protection. An English paper says "we brought most of them here, and it is only our duty to see that they are not subjected to the disabilities and disadvantages that would follow on such an influx of the countrymen as would make it a difficult matter for them to make an honest living." The argument is not worth refutation. We quote it only to show the childish nature of what is urged as argument.

Such then is the complaint against the Indian. When complaints of a similar nature are made by the Transvaal Dutch against the Englishmen the same Johannesburg paper from which we have made an extract makes the following reply which will serve practically word for word as a reply in our favor.

The Johannesburg Star sums up the situation with reference to the Uitlanders in the Transvaal thus:

"South Africa is a new country. It should therefore be open to all. Poverty should be no bar to admission. The vast majority of those now in affluence, came here originally with only the proverbial half crown in their pockets. By all means let us keep the

population reputable ; do so, however by the just and stringent enforcement of local laws against vagrancy and roguery, and not by the arbitrary exclusion of new arrivals before it is possible to know whether under the better conditions of a new country they might not take their place amongst useful citizens of the land."

We have tried to place before our readers the grounds on which Indians are sought to be excluded. The agitation itself is sectional. The majority of the colonies want indentured Indians though they know those Indians are likely to settle in the colony. In September 1896 a European Protection Association was formed in a town in Natal to press upon Parliament the necessity of enacting such rules as would really compel the Indian to leave the colony at the expiration of his term of indenture and to take all steps that might be found advisable for limiting the number of Indians introduced into the colony. In November 1896 in Durban a Colonial Patriotic Union was founded with the object of preventing "the further influx of free Asiatics into the country." And the following petition was addressed to Government by them :

"We the undersigned inhabitants of the colony of Natal do hereby most respectfully petition the Government to adopt measures which would prevent the influx of Asiatic races into this colony (1) The older and richer British colony of Australia and Newzealand have found that this class of immigrants is detrimental to the best interest of the inhabitants, and have passed laws having as to their object the total exclusion of Asiatics. (2) The disproportion between white and black races is already so great in this colony that it appears highly injudicious to further increase this disproportion. (3) The continued introduction of Asiatic races is in the highest sense detrimental to the natives of this colony from the fact that so long as the cheaper Asiatic supply is available so long will the civilization of the natives be retarded, their civilization depending upon their intercourse with the white races. (4) The low moral tone and the insanitary habits of Asiatics are a constant source of danger to the progress and health of the European population."

The 3rd and fourth grounds are absurd. The laws of the Australion colonies were passed without strong protest as very few were effected though open to the same objections.

The Government expressed its sympathy with the movement,

While the agitation was in progress two Steamers with Indians on board came to Durban. Many devices were resorted to, to prevent the Indians from landing and the Government, instead of affording all protection to the immigrants, asked the captain to inform the Indians of the intense feeling throughout the colony against their landing, thus trying to induce them to return; but of course the Indians did not return and landed. One of them, Mr. Gandhi, was subjected to rough usage. He was surrounded by a jeering crowd, was made the object of kicks and cuffs, mud and stale fish were thrown at him. One struck him with a whip. Under Police protection Mr. Gandhi was conveyed to the store of a Parsee, the building was guarded by the Police and ultimately he had to make his escape incognito.

This incident shows the lengths to which the extreme section is prepared to go. We will now give as furnished to us by the memorials some of the legal disabilities the Indians at present labour under in the colony.

1. The Indians, unlike Europeans, cannot be out after 9 p. m., unless practically they can produce a pass.
2. Any Indian is liable to arrest at any time of the day unless he can shew a pass to the effect that he is a free Indian. (The complaint herein is particularly against the manner in which the law is applied).
3. Indians, unlike Europeans, when driving cattle must be provided with certain passes.
4. A bye-law in Durban provides for the registration of Native servants and Indian servants who are described as "others belonging to the uncivilized races of Asia."
5. An indentured Indian when he becomes free must either return to India, his passage being paid for him, or pay an annual poll-tax of £3 as the price of permission to live as a somewhat free man in the Colony. (The London "Times" describes this condition as one "perilously near to slavery.")
6. Indians, unlike Europeans, in order to be entitled to the Franchise must prove that they belong to a country "possessing elective representative institutions founded on the parliamentary Franchise," or must receive an order of

exemption from the Governor in Council. This law was passed last year after the Indians had been in possession of the Franchise right under the general Franchise law of of the Colony till then, and that law requires that the candidate voter being an adult male, and not being a native of South Africa, must possess immovable property worth £50, or must be paying an annual rental of £10.

7. The Government High Schools are closed against Indian students, no matter what their abilities, character, and standing.

The following is the statement of the legislation to be passed during the present session of the local Parliament:—

1. The Governor is to receive the power to refuse to allow any person coming from an infected port to land at all in the colony, even though such person may have transhipped at some other port. (The Premier, in moving the second reading of this Bill said that it would enable the Natal Government to arrest the immigration of the Indians to the Colony.)
2. The Town Councils, and the Town Boards are to be empowered to refuse or grant trading licences at their discretion, their decisions not being subject to review by the highest tribunal of justice in the land. (The Premier in moving the second reading of this Bill said that such power was to be given so that the trading licences may be witheld from the Indians.)
3. Immigrants are to be required to fulfil certain conditions. *e. g.* to have property worth £ 25; to be able to fill in a form in some European language, the unwritten understanding, according to the Premier, being that these conditions are not to be enforced against the Europeons. (The Government have stated that these measures would be temporary, and that after the Conference hereinbefore referred to, they may be able to bring in such bills as would apply to Indians or Asiatics exclusively, and thus admit of more drastic restrictions and dispense with mental reservations and partial operation).
4. A pass system is to be established in order to protect free

Indians from the unpleasantness of an arrest, and officers arresting Indians without passes are to be exempt from liability to answer any claim for wrongful arrest.

The following proposals for further Anti-Indian legislation have been laid before the Natal Government:—

1. The Indians should not own landed property.
2. Town Councils should be empowered to compel Indians to reside in prescribed locations.

We have now indicated the position in South Africa.

It is really a race question having its origin in labour competition. India's industries have been destroyed, her labourers have been starved and ruined, her import duties have been abolished in the name of Free Trade. In South Africa Englishmen seem disposed to forget the economic doctrine of supply and demand, and their own doctrine of Free Trade when their laboring classes are affected by it.

Where was the boasted British love of fair play when the Durban populace resorted to such brutality towards Mr. Gandhi. The employment of American Indian Anxiliaries in the wars between the French and the English have been strongly condemned, but what is the difference between that and letting loose against Indian British subjects a gang of whooping kaffirs armed with sticks only too glad to shew their dislike. The incident was disgraceful and shews a depth of moral degradation of that section of the English community not easy to conceive.

At our expense a huge army is maintained, an army not strictly necessary to preserve peace in India but to enable England to maintain her leading position in the world. We are told every day that we shall be protected against physical violence anywhere in the world and that we can claim equality of treatment with the British born subjects of Her Majesty. Has any notice been taken of the outrage on Mr. Gandhi? Any punishment meted out to those who took any part in it except to two or three Kaffirs, which of course was cowardly, seeing that they acted only at the instigation of others who were conspicuous in the riots. If we had a voice in the Councils of the Empire, if we had a Government of our own able and willing to protect our rights, would this insult have been allowed to pass almost without notice.

It is said that Mr. Chamberlain is to hold a meeting of the colonial governors in London and there the policy to be followed towards Indians is to be discussed. Let the question be decided once for all, whether or not we are to be treated like other British subjects in every part of the Empire. The Imperial Government we say *must* insist that the laws of the colonies shall not be repugnant to the general welfare of the Empire and India forms a part of the Empire—we want to know whether there is any truth in the oft repeated allegation that India is retained for her benefit, that England regards the Empire of India as a trust reposed in her by Providence for India's good or whether all this is simply political cant.

On this question no compromise is possible. Being British subjects, we must be placed on the same footing as other British subjects, any decision by the English cabinet the other way would be an indication that England is abdicating her plain duty. For it would be a clear sign of her moral lapse. And no nation has long retained its supremacy when it has not been sustained in its efforts by a consciousness of moral rectitude. India's loyalty will be put to a severe strain if India's sons are to be regarded as inferior beings. India has spoken out her mind clearly enough at various public meetings. More significant than all this is the caution and warning conveyed by the Maha Raja of Durbhanga in his request to the English people to see that no injustice is done. Held in affectionate esteem by the Congress party, he is the idol of the orthodox Hindu. As one of the biggest Zemindars in India, his interests are bound up with the British Government. After all this the English Government may safely assume that India is of one opinion ; and any false step which England might now take will be fraught with perilous consequences.

C.

THE MAPPILLA PROBLEM.

ALONG with educational progress there is a tendency distinctly perceptible among the different classes inhabiting this country to split themselves into separate communities. Thus, while formerly, the only recognised communities among us were the Native and the European, the consciousness of self-interest has now created several divisions among the former. The Mahomedans first claimed that they belonged to a different community and religion from those to which the rest of the people acknowledged allegiance; then came the Native Christians who wanted to form themselves into a separate community with their special organs to ventilate their grievances; and now we have the Pariahs with their Mahajana Sabha and separate organs of public opinion. We have mentioned these three instances because they are the most prominent, the most marked and the most easily realised. There are other instances of minor classes claiming themselves to be separate communities; and as Western education advances, the number of communities may be expected to infinitely increase. The Brahmins have not yet became a separate community because they have no claims to urge which have any chance of being more easily satisfied as emanating from a separate community. But we frequently hear of other communities, with their special claims upon the Government, urging and emphasising their disabilities, their want of encouragement in the public service and their helpless position as a community. Several non-Brahmin classes in Southern India are now in this position; and we find in Travancore the Tiyens claiming their due share in the public service. All these show that the consciousness of separate interest produced by Western education, is the great disintegrating force which splits up the large mass of Native population into so many distinct divisions. For the present these separate claims are confined to appointments in the Public Service; but we are not sure that other needs and claims will not spring up in course of time. A foreign Government which is ill-informed in regard to the internal economy of the people, naturally sympathises with such claims, and often feels itself bound to afford all possible

encouragement to backward classes; and people who have no existence as a separate class take advantage of this by calling themselves a separate community. We cannot say whether the Government will not in the long run find itself inconvenienced and troubled by so many pressing claimants upon its bounty, and whether this state of things will not even lead to future political troubles.

The Eurasians have already presented a serious problem. They are poor and backward. They form a separate community. In their veins runs British blood. They are of the same religion as their rulers, and have needs and requirements which the pure natives have not. They accordingly maintain that the Government ought to provide special facilities for them to improve themselves and to become a prosperous and selfrespecting people. The Government, indeed, finds itself in a difficult position when it is confronted with so many conflicting problems. But these problems are nothing when compared with the problem which the Mappilla has presented in the most troublesome form. Other problems could be dealt with by peaceful methods, they could even be left to solve themselves. But the Mappilla problem is one which cannot be postponed for the sake of convenience. It must be dealt with promptly and rigorously. His problem does not consist in claiming the loaves and fishes of office along with other classes. He has yet very little of that kind of ambition. He is not advanced enough for it. But he continues to give trouble to the Government and his neighbours in a manner quite unheard of under the old Hindu Kings.

The Mappilla problem, therefore, stands on a quite different footing from that of other problems: it demands a quite different treatment; it has a quite different history. Our endeavour in this article will be to show, as far as we can, how this problem can be effectively dealt with, how the troublesome Mappila can be made a peaceful law-abiding member of Society, working for his own livelihood and respecting his neighbour's rights.

The rather frequent outbreaks that have recently occurred have disconcerted the Government, and made it think of remedial or repressive measures. But so far little has been done that is, in our opinion, calculated to put an end to the trouble. The recent enquiry made by Mr. Winterbotham has led to the remarkable

discovery that there is nothing to discover; and the remedial measures proposed consist chiefly in the opening of new roads and providing greater facilities for primary education. There is also a proposal, which has not received the authority of Government, to assign waste lands to poor Mappillas. We shall see later on how far these measures may be depended upon to solve the problem. In the meanwhile we shall take a passing retrospect of the circumstances which, in our view, have contributed to these frequent outbursts of religious fanaticism and lawlessness.

It is first of all important to bear in mind that, although the European officials and those who are not well acquainted with the Mappillas are apt to treat the whole class as a set of disorderly, disreputable fanatics, the large majority of them are as orderly, as peaceful, as well-behaved and as respectable as any other class of people. The lawless Mappilla who forms a very small percentage of the total Mappilla population of the District, is mainly confined to the jungly tracts of Ernad and Walluvanad. There he flourishes in spite of malaria and poverty, free from the chastening influences of education and civilization. He is often a tool in the hands of designing men. His poverty drives him to recklessness, his ignorance makes him believe in the existence of an easy road to heaven. His religion is what is taught him by his Mullah or Musaliar, and these latter have little conception of the religion as taught by the prophet. The real trouble therefore originates from these ignorant expounders of Mahomet's religion, who are free to preach what they like. Prior to 1836 when the Mappilla first began to give trouble to the British Government, there was no fanatic outburst of the kind which has been in vogue since then. This is made evident by the records of the District. An official description of what is called Hall Iḷakkam or frenzy-raising among the Mappillas of the Chernad Taluk and the neighbouring parts says that "originally there was no *Hal Ilakkam* there." The report which is dated November 1843 goes on to say:

"Originally there was no Hal Ilakkam there.

"In the month of Metam last year, one Alathamkuliyil Moidin of Kotinhi desam, Nannambra amsam, Vettattnad Taluq, which is on the skirts of Trikkulam Amsam, went out into the fields (Punja Pàttam) before daybreak to water the crops, and

there he saw a certain person who advised him to give up all his work and devote his time to prayer at the mosque. Moidin objected to this, urging that he would have nothing to live upon. Whereupon the above mentioned person told him that a palm tree which grew in his (Moidin's) compound would yield sufficient toddy which he could convert into Jaggery and thus maintain himself. After saying this, the person disappeared. Moidin thought that the person he saw was God himself and felt frantic (hal). He then went to Taramal Tangal, performed dikkar and niskaram (cries and prayers). After two or three days he complained to the Tangal that Kafirs (a term applied by Muhammadans to people of other religions) were making fun of him. The Tangal told him that the course adopted by him was a right one, and saying "let it be as I have said" gave him a spear to be borne as an emblem, and assured him that nobody would mock him in future. Subsequently several Mappillas affecting Hal Ilakkam played all sorts of pranks, and wandered about with canes in their hands, without going to their homes or attending to their work. After two or three days some of them, who had no means of maintaining themselves unless they attended to their work, returned to their former course of life, while others, with canes and Ernad knives (war knives) in their hands, wander about in companies consisting of five, six, eight or ten men, and congregating in places not much frequented by Hindus carry on their dikkar and Niskaram (cries and prayers). The Mappillas in general look upon this as a general vow and provide these people with food. I hear of the Mappillas talking among themselves that one or two of the ancestors of Taramal Tangal died fighting, that the present man being advanced in age it is time for him to follow the same course, and that the above mentioned men affected with Hal Ilakkam, when their number swells to 400, will engage in a fight with Kafirs and die in company with the Tangal. One of these men (who are known as Halar) by name Avarumayan, residing in Kilmuri desam, Melmuri Amsam, two months ago collected a number of his countrymen and sacrified a bull, and for preparing meals for these men placed a copper vessel with water on the hearth and said that rice would appear of itself in the vessel. He waited for sometime. There was no rice to be seen, those who had assembled there ate beef alone

and dispersed. Some people made fun of Avarumayan for this. He felt ashamed and went to Taramal Tangal, with whom he stayed two or three days. He then went into the mosque at Mambram, and on attempting to fly through the air into the mosque at Tirurangadi on the Southern side of the river, fell down through the opening of the door and became lame of one leg, in which state he is reported to be still lying.

"While the Halar of Munniyur desam were performing Niskaram (prayer) one day at the tomb of Chemban Pokar muppan, a rebel, they declared that in the course of a week a mosque would spring up at night and that there would be complete darkness for two full days. Mappillas waited in anxious expectation of the phenomenon for seven or eight days and nights. There was however neither darkness nor mosque to be seen.

"Again in the month of Karkidagam last, some of the influential Mappillas led their ignorant Hindu neighbours to believe that a ship would arrive with the necessary arms, provisions and money for 40,000 men ; that if that number (40,000) could be secured meanwhile, they could conquer the country, and that the Hindus would then totally vanish. It appears that it was about that time that some Tiyyar (toddy-drawers) and others became converts. For some days some Mappillas gave up all their usual work and led an idle life. In three days Halar were made much of and treated by some.

"None of these predictions having been realised, Mappillas as well as others have begun to make fun of the Halar, who having taken offence at this, are bent upon putting an end to themselves by engaging in a fight. A certain individual known as Harabikaran Tangal (lit. Arab high priest), with long hair, has been putting up with the Taramal Tangal for the last two years, offering prayers with a cry called dikkar. The Halar appear to have adopted the dikkar from the said Tangal, as it was not known to the people before. "The man who first had the Hal Ilakkam in the Punja fields is called by the people Punja Tangal."

The Hal Ilakkam set referred to above, are responsible for several outrages. On the 4th December 1843 they murdered a Nayar labourer having inflicted ten deep wounds on his body: On the 11th idem they murdered the Adhikari of the Pandikad Amshom in

Walluvanad taluk and a servant of his while bathing. They afterwards defiled two temples, broke the images therein and then took post in a house, and were ultimately shot. The description of the *Hal Ilakkam* set and the nature of the outrages committed by them show that mischievous religious preaching is the original cause of the fanatic outbursts we have had from time to time. Originating in religious frenzy, these outbreaks have latterly assumed a grossly worldly aspect. Like chivalry in Europe, which in its original conception was different from the voluptuousness and selfishness which pervaded it afterwards, the fanaticism of the Mappilla which began with a faith in the virtue of killing the infidel, has since been utilised for rapine, murder and outrage of various kinds, for personal gain, and for the gratification of sensual passions. The details of later outbreaks amply justify these remarks.

Fanaticism, as we have already observed, is the original cause of these outbreaks. Other causes have encouraged the fanatic spirit: one is the increasing liberty given to the Mappilla by the British Government to set up places of public worship wherever he likes; an increasing consciousness in him of his being able to outwit his Hindu neighbour with the passive support which the Government gives to his aggressiveness. Under the Hindu rulers the Mappilla had to abide by ancient custom—respectable Mappillas even to this day do not swerve an inch from the old recognised custom sanctified by centuries of unflinching observance. Mappilla landlords of Hindu tenants, Mappillas owning Jenmam lands in localities exclusively inhabited by Hindus, never think of offending Hindu feeling by allowing their own co-religionists or lower caste people to live on their lands, or by setting up places of religious worship, which they have every right to do under the existing law. Respectable Mappillas, like respectable Hindus, follow the custom of the country, the custom of the people amongst whom they live, so that in places where the better class of Mappillas live there is no trouble whatever by reason of any religious excitement or animosty. The whole of the coast is entirely free from any noteworthy Mappilla trouble. So are the Taluks of Cherakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Wynad and Calicut, the greater part of Ponnani and the whole of Palghaut. The Mappillas in the latter taluks are comparatively well off with an old tradition

to maintain. They have not been influenced by the teachings of those foreign Muhomedans who have found paying occupation in the wilder tracts of Ernad and Walluvanad. The old Mappilla families of the country have their old established relations with the Hindus; and they are not likely to be led away from those relations by the interested tactics of foreign Muhomedans who having no stake in the country and hating the "Feringi" government from the bottom of their heart, do their best to create trouble where none existed before. It is significant that there was no fanatic outbreak in Malabar before the establishment of British rule, and that there is still no such outbreak in Travancore or Cochin. We have heard in this connection different theories about Jenmi oppression and such like things as being the causes of these outbreaks. But such oppression, if it exists to-day, must have existed in a more aggravated form when the Jenmies themselves were the rulers of the country. It will be said, as some high European officials have told the writer, that the Mappilla population has since increased a good deal. But oppression is more easy when the objects of oppression are smaller in number than when they have attained such large proportions as now.

The truth is that under native rule there is the minimum of scope for misunderstanding and misrepresentation in regard to the relative rights and privileges of man and man. In native states custom is, and must be, observed; and there is little chance of evading its observance because there is no uncertainty about law and custom, and there is consequently no temptation to set up imaginary claims or to defeat the exercise of rightful ones. In British India all the uncertainties which a foreign legal code and legal procedure have introduced have been found inseparable even from the acts of the executive. But for the technicalities and uncertainties which the British system of jurisprudence has introduced into this country, there would not have been so many contests in our courts of law even in regard to undisputed and indisputable points of fact. The Mappilla has not been slow to take advantage of these uncertainties and of the passive support which our government has been unconsciously according to his aggressiveness. And who are the Mappillas that take advantage of these things? Not the respectable wealthy Mappilla, not the man who belongs to a family with

old traditions; but the lowest of the low, the man who yesterday belonged to the lowest caste, but has now become a convert. Mr. Fawcett has rightly found that the lower the origin of the Mappilla the greater is his tendency to lawlessness, to disorder and such daring vices.

Another cause which has contributed to the increased occurrence of these outbreaks, is the increasing cowardice of the Hindus. The old martial races of the country, chiefly Nayars, have lost their old spirit. A century of foreign rule, and foreign laws administered by ignorant, unsympathetic and very often corrupt magistrates have destroyed every trace of manliness and courage in the people. The law, or rather the way in which it is administered, has made cowards of them all. Those who have nothing to lose are in the most advantageous position because they would not mind going to jail. Formerly the villagers invariably took part in quelling the disturbances which were seldom allowed to attain any large proportions. Many fanatic outbursts, especially in the earlier periods, were put down by a Taluk peon or some of the villagers. The first outbreak on record took place in 1836: a Mappilla of Manjeri stabbed a man of the Astrologer caste, and wounded three others and fled. He was pursued by the Taluk officials and villagers and shot by the Taluk police. The next was in 1837 when a single Mappilla who had laid voilent hands on a Brahmin and taken post in his shop, was attacked and shot by the Taluk peons. In 1839 two Mappillas of Walluvanad killed a Hindu, and set fire to a Hindu temple, and took shelter in another temple. They were attacked by the Tahsildar and his peons, and were shot by a Taluk peon. In 1840 a Mappilla of Ernad who had severely wounded two Hindus, set fire to a temple and taken post in his house, was attacked, and, when rushing out, was shot by a Taluk peon. In December 1841 eight Mappillas killed two Nayars, and occupied the Adhikari's house. The Police peons and the villagers surrounded the house. The fanatics rushed upon them and were, before the arrival of the detachment sent out from Calicut, all killed. In 1843 seven fanatics after committing a murder occupied a Nayar house, and avowed their determination of fighting to death. A detachment of one Lieutenant, one Subadar, one Jamadar, three Naiks, 51 Privates, 1 Puckali and 1 Lascar of the 5th Regiment Native

Infantry, under Captain Leader, was deputed to the spot. They attacked the Mappillas ; but upon the latter rushing out, the sepoys were panic-stricken and took to flight, some of them were killed and several of them, including the Captain and the Lieutenant, wounded. The villagers and the Taluk peons then killed the seven fanatics, thus proving themselves superior even to the well trained and well disciplined soldiery. It is hardly necessary to give more instances of the kind to show that the ordinary villagers and Taluk peons could effectively quell these fanatic outbreaks without resort to the costly and complex machinery of a European regiment. At present an extremely costly agency is employed to deal with outbreaks ; and cowardice, which a Taluk peon would have been ashamed of, is now openly shown by higher officials of Government. During and prior to the recent *Ramzan* we had the interesting spectacle of the Collector of the District with all his available officers, a host of European and Native soldiers, the whole of the Malapuram Police and a portion of the Calicut Reserve, maintaining peace in the troubled parts of the two taluks. What is the lesson which this conveys to the Mappilla and the ordinary villager except this, that without bringing together and exhibiting these resources at the disposal of the Government, an effective safeguard cannot be provided against the turbulence of the few fanatic Mappillas? In the years gone by, there was no necessity for such parading of troops, such keeping of watch and ward. Indeed, we do not question the expediency of the step the authorities took; because the whole population had been terror-stricken, dacoity and murder were being daily committed, and there was a general fear that an outbreak was imminent. But at the same time it must be added that for the lawlessness which prevailed the initial apathy of the local authorities is greatly accountable. The real point suggested by these precautions, for which there was no need before, is that a century of British administration has, instead of improving the Mappilla, made him more turbulent and troublesome, and that this result is brought about *partly* by the cowardice shown by his neighbours and even by high officials of Government. Otherwise there would be no necessity to move so many regiments in the country to put down a comparatively minor disturbance which formerly used to be nipped in the bud by the people or the Taluk

peons. In an outbreak which occurred in 1851, the fanatics, nine in number, after murdering one Komu Menon and his servant on the high road, proceeded to Komu Menon's house; but finding a brother of Komu Menon's ready to meet them with a gun and war knife, they left the place and went elsewhere. It would appear, therefore, that the fanatic can have fear infused into his mind if only those with whom he deals will show pluck and courage. If Komu Menon's brother with his gun and war knife could scare away a number of fanatics who had already committed murder and arson, there is no reason why now, when British rule has progressed so much, a descendant of Komu Menon's should not be found to help the Government in dealing with an outbreak. The truth is, the Government now-a-days does not feel that there is necessity to enlist the co-operation of the people in keeping the peace of the District. The quelling of a Mappilla outbreak is regarded as a matter of some honour; and there is no motive for the higher officials of the District to share it with the people. They can call the European soldiery to their aid, and the local Police will do the rest. In this manner the people of the District have come to regard it as no concern of theirs to have anything to do with the quelling of outbreaks: they have no arms to protect themselves against rapine and murder; and they have altogether given up the habit of resisting lawlessness and outrage, which was once the pride of their ancestors, the glory of their life. The Mappilla has accordingly come to feel that his neighbours are incapable of resisting him, whatever outrages he may commit; and that he can practically be the master of the situation till the European soldiery is brought from a distance. What can possibly discourage this feeling in him will be considered in connection with the remedies we purpose to suggest.

As we have said in the beginning, the Government finds a solution of the Mappilla problem in primary education, in the opening of new roads, and according to opinions expressed by certain officials, in the giving over of waste lands to poor landless Mappillas. Ignorance and poverty being believed to be the causes which drive the Mappilla into the hands of the foreign adventurer who misinterprets Mahomet's religion, it is taken for granted that education and the opening up of communications will dispel the darkness of ignorance, while the plenty which waste lands will produce will

drive away poverty. It seems to be upon some such hypothesis that the above proposals have been made. But it is well to plainly state that they do not promise even to partly solve the problem presented by the Mappilla. Primary education is, no doubt, good so far as it goes. But primary education cannot convert the rustic of the wilds into the civilised Mappilla that his brother of the coast admittedly is. The existence of two Mappilla graduates in their midst will have a far more civilizing influence upon the wild and unlettered Mappillas than one hundred primary schools. It is worth considering whether the Government cannot pick up half-a-dozen intelligent boys among the less civilized portion of Ernad and Walluvanad Mappillas, and educate them up to the B. A. standard at its own expense. Such exceptional solicitude for the education of particular classes may not be justified under ordinary circumstances; but the Mappilla problem is one which may well be sought to be solved by exceptional remedies. Roads may be opened, as proposed, perhaps with advantage; but jungly tracts will hardly attract civilized humanity merely because roads have been opened. It will be something if these roads can be made to connect centres of trade and civilization, and if inducements are created for people from other places to pass and repass these tracts. It will be well to consider in this connection whether some public offices cannot be transferred to some of these localities: that will be an excellent means for extending civilization, and for bringing the turbulent classes under control.

The other proposal emanating from the officials is the assignment of waste lands. We have considered this proposal and find it difficult to accept it as any sort of remedy. It must be remembered that the Mappilla to whom it is proposed to grant land, is a man without money or property of any kind. Such waste lands as can be found for distribution among Mappillas will require an amount of labour and capital to make them fit for cultivation, which the miserable Mappilla, already depressed by poverty, can hardly find. Even if lands fit for immediate cultivation were found, and were made over to the needy Mappilla, he would have in the first place to provide the initial expenses, the seed, manure and labour, and then wait for six months for the harvest. We do not know if it will be seriously contended that the Mappilla who has

absolutely nothing to live upon, can afford to have the patience which will be required of him, not to speak of the absolute impossibility of his furnishing money for the expenses of cultivation. It is too unpractical to think of; and we would not have seriously referred to it, had not certain high officials of Government entertained high hopes in regard to such a scheme. Sir Auckland Colvin tried the experiment with the Sansias who have been a source of perpetual trouble to the North-West Provinces Government. He alloted lands for them to settle on and cultivate; but they have left the land to itself;and the magnificent scheme, from which Sir Auckland expected so much, has miserably collapsed. The reason for the failure is the same as we have indicated above.

While disapproving of the proposal, we are not blind to the importance of doing something really good to improve the material condition of the Mappilla. Some people have been dreaming of land legislation and such like chimerical things. We do not propose to discuss them here as, in our opinion, they cannot serve any useful purpose. Land legislation may or may not benefit certain land holding classes; but it will not benefit the pauper Mappilla whom poverty and ignorance alike make an easy prey to the tactics and deceptions of unscrupulous religious preachers, and who having nothing to lose in this world rush at the throat of the infidel in the certain hope of seeing the gates of heaven open for him. What the Mappilla wants is the means of daily subsistence for himself, his wife and children. He does not find paying occupation now unless he goes forth to commit robbery or dacoity. The question is whether the Government cannot devise some means whereby to give him daily work and wage. Hitherto it has not spent a pie towards improving his material condition although, in view to the disturbed state of the district, it is bound to do something in that direction. What we would propose is that the Government should open workshops for Mappillas in the chief Mappilla centres in the disturbed portions of the two taluks. Rare specimens of art are produced in the interor of Malabar by the artisan classes. The carpenter, the goldsmith, the blacksmith, and the brazier execute excellent works of art, which will be in requisition in different parts of India. Malabar artisans have a peculiar aptitude for manufacturing metal vessels which are very much admired in other

countries. The weaving and tile manufacturing industries which the German Missionaries have established at Calicut, not only afford work to hundreds of people, but the articles manufactured are highly prized elsewhere and largely exported. There is no reason why industrial institutions established and managed on such lines should not thrive in the Mappilla taluks, and should not, besides giving occupation to the needy, prove a paying concern to the Government itself. As we have remarked, the poor man who has absolutely nothing to eat can hardly find the wherewithal to cultivate waste land, much less can he have the patience to wait for six months for the fruits of his labour. It is absolutely useless to expect him to do any such thing. But if you give him daily work, and ensure him daily wages, according to his skill and the value of his work, you will find the Mappilla rapidly improving, liking work, and giving up his old ways. He will no longer be the wandering fanatic or dacoit who despairing of life, schemes assasination or plunder, but a peaceful, industrious being who will love his neighbour and respect his rights. The Government may in this connection also consider the expediency of resorting to legislation to prevent Mappillas who have no occupation or ostensible means of livelihood from remaining in the country if they do not choose to go to the workshops. This is one means, and perhaps the most effective, to reconcile the Mappilla to peaceful and orderly life.

It has already been shown that mischievous religious preaching is the original cause of fanatic outbreaks. Mr. Winterbotham has considered this question, and, if we remember right, has come to the conclusion that it is not possible to put restrictions on the freedom of preachers. We cannot wholly accept this view, because it does not appear to be altogether consistent with the policy of the British Government which has placed restrictions elsewhere when the interests of public peace rendered it necessary. Indeed, under ordinary circumstances the Government has to maintain a position of neutrality ; but with situations such as the Mappilla creates, this neutrality has to be laid aside to a certain extent. We do not advocate any interference with the legitimate exercise of religious rights. But when one uses this as a cloak for disturbing the peace of the country, the Government *must* step in for the sake of its peaceful subjects. The habitual religious preachers who are suspected of

propagating disloyal ideas tending to disturbance of the peace should be kept under surveilance. Their movements and their utterances should be carefully watched by the village officials and the local Police, and reports submitted by them periodically.

Intimately connected with this is the question of the creation of places of public worship. Several of the outbreaks that have taken place were caused by disputes about the erection of mosques. So far back as 1852 Mr. Thomas Strange proposed that restrictions should be placed on the erection of mosques. But the Government of the day, in its wisdom, vetoed this proposal on the ground that it would be a departure from the policy of a wise and just neutrality in all matters of religion. Here again the question arises to what extent this fetish of neutrality is to be worshiped when you see the peace of a district is disturbed, when most brutal outrages are committed on men and women alike, and when even children are not spared. If the Government is anxious to observe neutrality, if it thinks that it ought not to make any difference between one religion and another, let it by all means extend the restrictions to other religions. Let Hindus, Christians, Mahomedans, and the followers of any other religions be subjected to the same restrictions. Let no temple, church or mosque be erected anywhere without the sanction of the District Magistrate. In Travancore such a law has been in force for many years, and with the recent amendment of the Penal Code, it has become a part of the criminal law of the State. Now, any one who establishes a place of public worship, without the previous sanction of the Maharajah's Government, is liable to certain pains and penalties. A similar law is essential, not only for Malabar but for the whole of British India. No man can justly complain against such a reasonable restriction, rendered necessary in the interests of peace, and no violence is done thereby to the principle of religious neutrality. If religious processions can be regulated, nay prevented, as occasions arise, if crowds at holy places can be dispersed in the interests of sanitation, and if even the pilgrimage to Mecca can be prevented as was done this time, there does not seem to be any strong reason why the comparatively harmless restriction about the creation of places of religious worship should not be enforced. If the Government refrains even now from imposing such a restriction, the trouble must increase as

time goes on. It is to be hoped that mere sentimental objections will not be allowed to over-ride the interests of peace, and the safety and protection of innocent subjects of Her Majesty.

We have indicated above how former outbreaks used to be put down by Taluk officials and villagers, how even where the well trained and well disciplined troops failed, they effectively subdued the fanatics, and how even individuals scared away the fanatic Mappillas who had been bent upon murder and arson. The fear which these circumstances inspired in the Mappilla, and which operated as a check on his fanatic and frantic inclinations, has now completely disappeared, there being none whom he need fear except the Military which cannot overtake him before he has had many days' start. It is this that now encourages the Mappilla to play havoc with the life and property of his neighbours ; and it is time to devise something which will make him feel that he cannot do what he likes without some immediate risk to himself. The old martial spirit of the people having almost died out, we cannot now expect the villagers to do anything effectual. At the same time it is highly necessary that some kind of moral fear must be always present to the Mappilla so that he may not rush in with the idea that nobody can resist him. Mr. Strange proposed the organization of a special police force, exclusively composed of Hindus, to put down these risings, and deprecated the use of the European force for this purpose. We must add parenthetically that no officer of Government who has given thought to the subject, has suggested more efficient remedies than were proposed by Mr. Strange, who had spent a good deal of time in enquiring into the matter, and had a close acquaintance with the District ; and it is a misfortune that some of his most valuable proposals were not accepted by the Government for sentimental reasons. Mr. Strange knew that the Mappilla found greater merit in dying in a fight with the white man, and that the resort to European troops was one way of encouraging rather than discouraging him to "go out." Apart from this, the creation of a strong police force will be the means of conveying a sort of moral fear to the Mappilla who, imprudent and thoughtless as he is and incapable of realizing the consequences of his action, can be kept under control only by the consciousness that if he rises there will be some agency to resist him forthwith. We do not,

however, revive the proposal made by Mr. Strange for a Police Force. What we would propose instead is the creation of volunteer corps, not exclusively composed of Hindus, but of all classes of people, of men who possess certain property and educational qualifications. This will shut out from it all who have nothing to lose, mere men of straw, men who would "go out" for no cause. The volunteers must be men of certain standing in society and must be selected with due regard to their character and antecedents. The existence of a corps of volunteers in the chief Mappilla centres will be a good check on the unrestrained freedom which now impels the fanatic to indulge in lawlessness for days together, until the Police and the Military arrive from Calicut or Cannanore, and sometimes even from outside the District. One objection likely to be urged against this will be that Native troops once failed to face the fanatics with steadiness and courage. But as against this we have shown that numerous outbreaks were promptly put down by Taluk peons or Villagers. It may also be born in mind that the Native Soldiers who fled from the fanatics were not natives of Malabar. The creation of volunteer corps, it may be added, is not proposed as a substitute for a European Regiment, but merely as an important auxiliary to the fighting and protective force of the District, to be kept in evidence so as to bring home to the troublesome Mappilla the danger of rising, as he does now, under the idea that nobody would disturb him for a time.

In conclusion we have only one more suggestion to make ; and that is with reference to the administrative arrangement now existing. The Taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad are, at present, under a special Assistant Collector who is invariably a very young man with very little experience of the country and the people. A gentleman whose opinion in a matter of this sort is entitled to great weight, has proposed that these two Taluks should be constituted into a Sub-Collector's Division and that the Sub-Collector at Tellicherry should be posted to Malapuram. The advantage of such a change is that the disturbed taluks will have the supervision of a comparatively senior and experienced officer, while the Taluks of Chirakkal and Kottayam, which give no trouble, may form the special Assistant's Division, Kurumbranad being made, if necessary, a part of the Calicut Sub-division.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON.

PRISON LIFE IN MADRAS.

INTRODUCTION.

OCCASIONALLY, one sees in the columns of the daily newspaper some article or other purporting to give a general idea of some establishment showing how the work is done. At one time it is the General Hospital, at another time, it is something else. In this article, I propose to give a short sketch, with a few observations, of the premier prison in this Presidency—Her Majesty's Penitentiary—which will *mutatis mutandis* apply to the other jails.

APPROPRIATENESS OF THE SUBJECT IN THIS SEASON.

There is also a certain appropriateness in the treatment of this subject at a time like the present, when the anniversary of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign is engaging the attention of all the loyal subjects throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. Such rare times are also marked by the release of a large number of prisoners. Where there is hustle and bustle in the free world, there is the same sort of atmosphere prevailing in the convict world too. Such opportunities were present in 1877, 1887 and now (1897) when the Diamond Jubilee is to be commemorated.

JAIL PREMISES AND ITS INMATES.

H. M. Penitentiary occupies a conspicuous position in Madras within the angle of the two arms of the Cooum. It is as old as the Indian Mutiny. From its appearance, it is a small structure very much cramped, but contains on an average more than 800 prisoners all told every day. These convicts are very carefully guarded by a number of warders and jailors and over these stands the superintendent. The fact that there has been no escape for the last half-a-dozen years in this jail, reflects the highest credit on the vigilance of the subordinate staff, when one compares it with what one hears almost every month, of some escape at Hyderabad, or an escape at Colombo and sometimes at another place.

CLASSIFICATION OF PRISONERS.

Now, let us see as to how many varieties of persons compose the jail population—persons sentenced to rigorous and those sentenced to simple imprisonment, remand prisoners (*i. e.*) those

whose cases have not been finally disposed of, either by conviction or acquittal and under-trial prisoners (*i.e.*, those who have been committed to the sessions, pending the decision of the Court. A few lunatics not of a very serious nature are also here and a few lifers that are to be deported to the penal settlement. The terms 'rigorous' and 'simple' correspond to the English 'hard labour' and 'simple labour.' Digging, composing etc., are examples of hard labour, paper counting, ruling etc., are examples of simple labour.

REMISSION AND TO WHOM DOES IT APPLY?

Though the prisoners as indicated above form a hetorogeneous kind, yet the treatment is homogeneous, no undue severity is shown to any, if each behaves himself well and does his allotted task of work. Of the different classes of prisoners of whom mention is made, only those that are convicted by courts are taken into consideration here. It is not all that are entitled to the benefit of the remission of their sentences. It is those that have to do a year or more of incarceration. The remission system has its basis in the humane instincts of man. It is to the intelligent convict an inducement for hard work and early release. Prisoners are, therefore, classified, broadly speaking, into two classes—District and Central Jail prisoners. The former are those who have to undergo imprisonment for *less than a year;* and the latter a year and more than a year. From the nature of its application it is only an incident of rigorous imprisonment, unless the prisoner wishes to change the less onerous to the more burdensome.

WHAT IS REMISSION?

What then is remission and how does it affect sentences? Remission means the sending back earliar than one is entitled to, or, in other words, giving liberty to the prisioner to go earlier than the time when he ought in the ordinary course of time to be released. The way in which it is worked is in this wise. But before setting out that method, it may not be out of place to say in general terms, as to the ways in which the prisoners are employed. Many of them are employed in the Press as Compositors &c., in the chucklers' shop, as tapeweavers, rope makers etc., etc. Now the prisoners so variously occupied, earn, generally speaking, a mark a day for good behaviour and another for good work. But these marks are liable to be lost by fine or forfeiture if they do mischief within the

prison. Among the convicts themselves there are various grades with certain privileges attached to each. A convict is entitled to marks, from the beginning of the month following his admission. For example, a man is convicted say on the 5th March, he will be eligible for marks from the 1st April. Such an interval is called the period of probation. Such a prisoner is at once placed in the 3rd class. From that he has to rise to the 2nd after getting a certain number of marks and then to the First. Above these are maistries, overseers and warder guards—the highest to which one can aspire.

Those marks so accumulated are quarterly converted by dividing them by 24 into days. The maximum amount of remission then, which a person sentenced to a year can accumulate is about a month and he will be set at liberty after eleven months' stay; and a person sentenced to, say, 7 years may sometimes be released after the lapse of 6¼ years or 6 years by the additional special marks for good work and good behaviour.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS AND THE METHODS OF RECLAIMING THEM.

The prison population is also composed of very many juveniles. Juveniles all the world over, are generally naughty; whether at home, or at school, or at a meeting they are a troublesome set of people. Even in the jail premises they attract a good deal of attention of the authorities concerned. Of late, their question has been a burning one. Let us consider the reasons why it has stirred so much.

The fact of the matter is that these juveniles (always an appreciable number) are made to work with adult prisoners and sometimes amongst very bad characters. Association with such persons cannot but impair materially their morals and in course of time make them habituals. It is with a desire to obviate those mischievous consequences that juvenile offenders are sent to the Reformatory School at Chingleput where they are taught, till they come of age, some useful handicraft. But the room at the Reformatory being too limited, a large influx of these juveniles is left to wait till room is available. As an instance, I may say that during a whole year not more than a dozen boys were transferred to the School from the Madras prison. This is but a fraction of those that are generally committed to jail. Further, it is only the males

that can find entrance into the Reformatory. There is no corresponding female branch in the Reformatory: and the consequence is that all female juveniles have to be cared for only in the prison. To quote the words of a non-official gentleman who has striven hard to better their condition, Mr. Henry K. Beauchamp, written so far back as July 1894, "there is one very little girl in the female block. The proper place for her would be a reformatory. She must become more depraved by daily intercourse with the older females. She is a very fit subject for reformatory, too, as she is already labelled 'Habitual' although only about 12 years old." Again he writes, "there was one very small boy with an intelligent and honest looking face whom the committing magistrate would have done better to flog than to imprison for a couple of months." The necessity, therefore, of widening the usefulness of the Reformatory is a matter for very early consideration. It is no wonder then that sometimes one hears remarking, "there are four boys fit subjects for the Reformatory School, especially one little fellow with three previous convictions, but it is said there is no room at Chingleput." The necessity for the opening of a female side of the Reformatory School seems to be called for, if one understands the evil influence (however carefully guarded) that is brought to bear upon the younger by the older associates in crime. Again, the gentleman referred to above says "the presence of four small girls in the female jail (two of them *habituals*) proves how necessary a reformatory for girls is. The matter of a third is also an inmate of the jail and an *habitual* so the girl herself will no doubt soon become an habitual." To show that these remarks are not merely sentimental platitudes, I may cite an instance of an old woman who seduced many an honest looking girl who for some mischief or other was confined in the jail. There was an old woman, a few years ago, who was always convicted for drunken and disorderly behaviour, the maximum punishment for which being one month. That old woman had been in jail times without number for the same offence and had the hardihood to say to the committing magistrate face to face, that she would stand again before him after the lapse of that month. Such a dissolute character was she, that when she entered the jail she used her evil influence and seduced the girls to their sad fate. She would somehow or other know the particular date

when a girl will be released from the jail and would lie in ambush to catch hold of her prey. The sentence for habitual drunkenness not being deterrent, or that there was no severe method of dealing with her that she would come into the jail as often as she liked for the same offence and thus be a nemises to many a poor girl. "The foolish sentences (on persons habitually drunken and profligate) of a few days or weeks, repeated scores of times, also help to make such persons hardened. It is precisely because they are not sent to prison, or to other place of detention long enough either for deterrence or reformation or any alteration of habits that they become habituals."

Now, if there had been a branch of the Reformatory School for these girls, the mischief would have been, to a great extent, mitigated. This fact was discussed in the Imperial Legislative Council, when the new Reformatory Act was passed. The *Madras Mail* in its leader on the subject, of the 22nd March 1897, says, "There were two crucial questions raised, and on each of them Sir John Woodburn's attitude can hardly be described as correct. The first was the important question whether the new Act ought not to be made applicable to girls. The Report of the select committee, for which the member in charge of the Bill may fairly be presumed to have been responsible, had stated that the Madras Government stood alone in recommending the establishment of reformatory schools for girl criminals. As the Hon'ble Mr. Rees pointed out, this statement was incorrect. The Madras Government had not recommended the establishment of a female reformatory, but merely a provision in the Bill of power to establish such a reformatory, on cause shown. In this view it did not stand alone, for the Government of North-West-Provinces agreed with it." It is something to see that the two Governments have at least seen the necessity for such a school. "But both the report and the speech of the Hon'ble Member who presented it, laid stress on the supposed objections of keeping girls in a reformatory which might arise out of Hindu and Mahammadan habits." "It really is time that the Governmenment of India ceased being frightened by this childish bagbear of native customs." Unfortunately, one more endeavour to establish a reformatory school for girls has been frustrated,

"The omission of any provision for girl criminals is a great blot on the new Act; and it now remains for the Madras Government by local legislation to supply a remedy so far as this Presidency is concerned." It is hoped, therefore, that as the Jail Code is now being revised, provision will be made in that for girl criminals also. The usefulness of Sec. 31 of the New Reformatory Act cannot be overrated. "That section," to quote the article "enables the court instead of sending a juvenile, whether boy or girl, to jail, or to reformatory (in the case of boy), to discharge the juvenile or to make the juvenile over to its parents or guardians, they executing a bond for the juvenile's good behaviour. This is a very useful and beneficial provision; and, if freely worked, it ought to prevent the frequent occurrence of cases in which boys and girls are committed to jail for petty first offences." Had the original provision in that Bill that boys unable to procure security for subsequent good conduct might be sent to the reformatory, remained intact, it would have conferred a very great advantage on the after-career of the boys. But it was omitted in the committee. The consequence of that will possibly be that such juveniles will be associated with K. D's and others of that ilk with little betterment.

PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY AND YOUTHFUL CRIMINALS.

A practical instance of the above may be cited. In the last century, a boy by name John Scot was charged with trespassing and stealing a few apples. The magistrate instead of punishing him, ordered his father to make restitution to the injured party. This was done; but the elder Scot took much better care of him in future and the lad ultimately became Lord Chanceller Elden. I bring this to show what can be done in a particular case. A vast amount of juvenile crime would be effectually and cheaply prevented if the responsibility in all possible cases, of many of the parents were more strictly enforced.

THE HEALTH OF THE JAIL POPULATION.

I come now to an important point. Considering the locality of the Jail in Madras, with the Cooum in front and on the south of it with its stink sometimes, it is highly satisfactory to find that the health of the convicts has been uniformly good. The fact that there were only ten deaths during the 366 days is an indisputable fact that the health of the convicts within, is much better off than

that of the freer population outside of it. These deaths when closely scrutinized will be found to be due mainly to natural causes.

Let us see as to the diet. We find that notwithstanding the tasks, the convicts are well off. It is an interesting and curious fact but still it is a notable fact that the convicts are better cared for than the rest of the free population in famine times. It is true that tasks are exacted of them and punishments more severe and more lasting are not unfrequently meted out, still they are in a good condition. To substantiate my statement, I may say that out of a number in more than 2000 that were released from time to time in the course of a year, there were only 27 persons out of a hundred who have lost weight. This fact shows that many persons that enter the precincts of the Jail in an emaciated condition come out of it with an increase in weight. Once in a fortnight, each prisoner is weighed and any striking difference in weight when compared with the weighment statement of the previous fortnight is investigated. It wlll thus be noticed, how solicitous are the authorities for the well-being of the transgressors. Some have gone further and stated that the treatment accorded to convicts is better than that shown to the famished in times of scarcity. The difference lies in the fact that in the one case he has forfeited his liberty and in the other he has that priceless one. Some are not mindful of that freedom and prefer incarceration in times of famine. This is borne out by the fact that "Hunger drives men to crime." A statement is published in the *Madras Times* of the 22nd April 1897, of the number of prisoners in the affected districts. It shows "how the Jail population of the Presidency increased or decreased pretty regularly according as the price of provisions ruled high or low." The following is a "statement of the number of convicts and under-trial prisoners admitted into the Presidency Jails in the districts where famine prevails":—

District.	November.		December.	
	Average.	1896	Average.	1896
Ganjam	153	114	142	127
Vizagapatam	170	274	160	285
Kurnul	102	251	76	174
Bellary	149	199	185	261
Anantapur	27	64	33	62
Cuddapah	108	292	118	194

"In all other districts," than Ganjam "the increase will be seen to be most marked, and the theory that crime may in a very large measure be the result of distress is justified." Though the increase is very marked in the months of November and December last, yet recently the members in jail have remained normally owing to the passing of certain humane orders with regard to famine matters. The consequence of such has been the overflow of men on relief works. With the additional efforts of the Famine Charitable Relief Committee the condition of the famished has been bettered and the increase in jail population has been, materially arrested.

OLD OFFENDERS—AND WHAT IT SHOWS.

Let us now turn to a more interesting side of the question which does not seem to merit much attention. Taking Madras prison for our illustration, even in ordinary times, the fact that there are something like 370 prisoners who have been identified before or after conviction during a year, shows that something is necessary to be done in that direction. To many of them liberty is at a discount; they think it better to be inside than to be outside of the jail.

It is indeed a matter of concern to find that so many as 370 convicts who were twice or more in a jail. An exhaustive inquiry into the causes of such a large number of old offenders in a single jail would be a matter of interest. As far as I think I assign these causes. Many of these twice or more convicted offenders are either unable to eke out their livelihood in the freer world, or that they do not care for an honest living, or that they think that their name (to whom it is at a zero) will not be contaminated by a sojourn in the jail, or, perhaps, that they think that their nefarious trade, is a more profitable one than the bread won by the sweat of their brow. Sometimes, it may be that some of the old offenders or habituals find it difficult to get an honest living anywhere, because the stigma that they had been once in jail, goes against them in the struggle for existence. They are thus forced to pursue their wonted course. Again, some of these after being once convicted, begin to turn over a new leaf and try to lead honest lives, but they are not left to themselves. The police have an eye over these K. D's (known depradators) and any mischief that is perpetrated in or near

the vicinity where these live, is fathered upon them and thus they are obliged to face the jail again. If the generality of Magistrates instead of giving too ready an ear to the evidence adduced by the Police and without undervaluing the evidenee of the convict himself, simply because he is a person who had been previously sentenced, were to call for evidence of his post-convict life and ascertain from reliable witnesses as to his character, honesty and general good behaviour and thereafter if they were to convict the accused satisfying themselves that there is sufficient direct or other evidence to convict, such a magistrate would be a check to the flow of once convicted prisoners. Such a procedure is not uncommon now. But a little more care on that side is all that is needed at present. Further, the police terrorise the convict by telling him to admit his guilt by stating that if he were to deny he would be committed to the sessions where he would be dealt with severely. When once the fact is so stated, the timid of them choose the lesser of the two evils. As a matter of fact, if a person had been previously convicted whether rightly or wrongly and however honestly he might have led his life and whatever evidence he might be prepared to adduce to show his innocence, the fact that he is a K. D. stands out in all its glory and drowns himself and whatever he might plead. It is highly desirable, therefore, to make some provision for post convict life of those that are willing to reform in industrial workshops or any friend-in-need society like the one that is now in existence for the Eurasian Community. Such societies are a misnomer so far as the Hindus are concerned. Unless something of the nature indicated above, is established by the community itself to reclaim these breakers of the law, these would ever be steeped in crime. Dr. Smiles says in his book on "Duty" chapter XI page 309, "one of the greatest difficulties that a criminal has to encounter, is in getting employment after fulfilling his term of imprisonment. He is willing to work and determined to be honest. But the policeman knows his whereabouts, and gives information against him. He is immediately turned off, and forced back upon his old habits. Thus it becomes almost impossible for a quondom prisoner to return to honesty." Then the learned Doctor goes on to give in the pages that follow (310-320) practical instances as to how these convicts may be reclaimed. The example

of Thomas Wright, the philanthropist of Manchester and the true friend of forlorn prisoners is a very striking one.

SANITATION.

Let me now turn from the theoritical to the practical side. The sanitation and the conservancy arrangements of the jail are all that could be desired. In the report of the Howard Association for 1896, we find "in Madras the Sanitary arrangements are in advance of those in Bengal, judging by the comparative jail mortality." This is a very high compliment indeed coming from such a quarter. A good deal of credit is due to the Superintendent and his subordinates for the great care they take about the sanitary and other arrangements. The Madras prison is a neat object lesson of cleanliness and tidiness. A casual visit at any time of the day with the permissio n of the Superintendent, will show that the above facts are not exaggerated.

THE SUPERINTENDENT—D. A. McCREADY ESQR.

The present Superintendent of the prison under consideration, has been in charge of it for very many years; and we cannot imagine a more genial, a more unassuming, a god-fearing but yet a more useful being than D. A. McCready Esquire. An hour's conversation with him will reveal the nature of the man. As his work is essentially confined within the four walls of the prison, it is seldom or never that we hear of him in the public press. He has introduced many salutary changes in sundry places and he has been twice or thrice thanked by the Government itself for the prompt measures he took with regard to the prisoners when an epedemic of cholera occurred in jail a few years ago. His treatment of the prisoners and his infliction of the various kinds of punishments which the Jail Code provides, from solitary confinement to gunny clothing do not lean either on undue severity or under leniency but are rather tempered by justice. As a non-offlcial visitor once remarked, the prisoners were given such of the privileges as the Jail Code allowed.

A word or two about the subordinate staff. It is not too much to say that the whole establishment works so harmoniously and so smoothly like a clock-work that friction has not been felt anytime. The earnestness with which the staff works has been noticed very often by the Inspector-General of Prisons in his annual visits. The fact that while the rest of the jails in the Presidency are visited

by the Inspector General of Prisons once in a year, and the Madras Penitentiary twice a year—shows how much care is taken by the I. G. himself with regard to this premier jail.

THE JAIL ESTABLISHMENT.

Her Majesty's Penitentiary is not unlike other prisons ; but there are a few features peculiar to this. It may safely be affirmed that Her Majesty's Penitentiary is a composite one. A few are, the transfer of lifers to the Penal settlement ; the supply of stationery to the other jails. This increases the burden of the clerical staff. With the minimum limit of clerical establishment with the maximum amount of correspondence, with the ever-increasing monthly and fortnightly returns to be sent within a specified date, together with matters of a routine character disturbed now and then by visits from men in high life, it can be said that it is "all work and no holiday" to parody a common saying. In Madras and at a few other places a little consideration is shown for Sunday but in the moffusil jails that is not the case generally as far as I can learn. It is no wonder to see or hear men say that the clerical staff works from 7 a. m. till 7. p. m. all days equally, like the executive staff. On the other hand, the convicts work for less number of hours. Holidays are rare. With the additional work above mentioned a similar state of things is not uncommon here. The executive and the clerical are no doubt quite distinct, but still these two overlap each other and intersect at many points, hence the result. A clear difinition and distinction of the functions of both the organisazations should be enunciated for better working. A new feature was added so early as January that the clerical staff or assistant Jailors as they are called, should perform some of the executive duties such as coming on rounds during night once a week or fortnight. But this rule was rescinded in the case of Madras, happily, as the warder establishment is sufficiently strong to guard the prison. A disposition of the duties or an addition to the clerical establishment is necessary in Madras as in other parts. It is one of the fundamental canons of the Jail Code that no convict should be given clerical work. This rule is most faithfully carried out in all jails.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF PRISONERS.

1. The question of Habituals.

A more effective method should be resorted to with regard to habituals, than the one that is now in vogue of having them separated from other prisoners at night, locked up in separate wards and allowing them to work together with other convicts. I think it would be much better to adopt the course pursued by one of the prison governors in Minnesota U. S. He says " I prefer the separate confinement of prisoners for several reasons. First, it lessens the chances of escape. Secondly, the prisoners are much more easily controlled; and lastly, which I consider of more importance than all the rest, the worst elements do not have the chance to influence the others which they do have when they are all allowed to mingle together." Some one says, " it does away with quarrels, which always occur when prisoners are together. I do not think it injurious to health, as the prisoners when in the corridor can exercise enough. They are cleaner and can be kept so without as much trouble as before." Another says " In our jail the bad ones amongst the prisoners are generally the leaders. They are always concocting some bad scheme. Keep them apart when possible." Another superintendent writes, " the good results obtained by separation are far more than commensurate with the pains and labour bestowed." The Inspector-General of Prisons of the Panjab wisely remarks, " imprisonment under the association system has, I fear, little deterrent effect on the habitual criminal, and little or no repressive influence on crime."

2. The question of juveniles.

With regard to the above, endeavour should be made by courts so far as is possible to throw their responsibility upon the guardians and parents. They would be better cared for. Steps should be taken to prevent their coming into jail by undertaking some one to stand surety for good behaviour, or in its absence they should be sent to the Reformatory. In the case of juveniles who have been convicted twice or thrice, recourse must be had to the Reformatory School. For this end the accommodation of the school must be enlarged. The necessity for a female juvenile ward of the Reformatory, has been already made out. Mr. Henry K. Beauchamp

writes to the Howard association thus: "In the one jail of which I am official visitor, there are usually from 6 to 12 girls; and the number of "habituals" amongst them is shocking, showing, as it does, the evil of confining them with adult prostitutes and thieves." He adds all that is really necessary is an enabling clause or two to amend the existing acts, giving Indian Local Governments power to segregrate girl criminals whenever such is deemed possible and feasible. It is hoped that the local Government will see fit to move in the matter.

3. Substitution of Fines.

"Any form of imprisonment," to quote the Report, "is at least an evil." Hence the substitution of fines as a useful penalty in many cases should be aimed at. This system is not accompanied by the disadvantages of the jail. A needed introduction is to allow the fines to be paid by instalments. Where necessary opportunity should be given to pay the fine in instalments and restitution of property should be made in default of payment of fine, rather than by so many days imprisonment; that course should be pursued when all other resources fail. Justinian, fourteen centuries ago, had a far better conception of theft by imposing twice and four times the value of the thing stolen on the culprit. "Criminals are magisterially manufactured for such offences as picking a few mushrooms or for other petty delinquencies." If methods similar to the above were to be observed the number of petty first offenders who now are sent to the jail would be reduced.

4. The Convicts in the Press.

The press in the Penitentiary draws all the intelligent convicts from the other jails. Those that can read and write are put on the Press as compositors etc. A good deal of work is turned out by convict labour. There were during the whole of the year 1896, more than 230 convicts employed out of a daily average of more than 800. The press, as a general rule, does not require a good deal of education. As a matter of fact, long term prisoners are made to learn a smattering of English and then transferred to the press. Of the prisoners so employed there are a few fairly educated men and as a rough calculation about 15 or 20 per cent. of the 230 and odd convicts will be found to possess a fair knowledge of English. Instead of employing such men on the work of composing,

would it not be better, I suggest to employ them on a more useful kind of work such as indexing or other intellectual work? Many of these convicts, I believe, can write a fairly good hand if opportunity is given. By doing so a good deal of work might be turned out with their heads and hands. Here are many opportunities of mistakes and the work itself a disgusting one. Any mistakes committed can be visited with the forfeiture of marks—a very effective means in the case of such men.

5. Jail manufactures.

Jail articles are very high when compared with those that are sold usually in the market. It is true that jail articles should not compete with free labour. But articles may be sold with ten or fifteen per cent. profit. A gentleman remarked once, "I regret to find some of the furniture are priced more than what the same articles could be got for at other places. In order to encourage sales, it is desirable that only a reasonable profit should be charged, I think ten per cent. will be very reasonable." In that case there would be an appreciable sale of articles manufactured in jail, a profitable concern to the prison. As a matter of fact the Madras Penitentiary is a profitable one unlike many other jails. But the question of profit will have to be subordinated to the diminution of jail population.

6. Habitual female offenders.

All male prisoners of more than 21 days' incarceration have their heads clean shaved. Such a course is not adopted with regard to females. It is hoped that as a tentative measure at least, the same procedure may be pursued in the case of habitual female offenders as a deterrent. Such an extreme step should be worked cautiously and on the very highly advanced states of criminality to see whether such a course has any effect on the habituals. Such typical cases would seldom appear. But a provision to that effect in the code under revision, may not be an unwelcome one in cases of necessity.

P. CHINNASWAMI.

WOMEN IN ANCIENT INDIA.

IN the Vedic times the social position of women was very high. It is said in the Mahâbharata (1) that, "women were not immersed within houses; they used to go about freely as best liked them." They attended the sacrifices with their husbands. (2) They were at liberty to drive abroad and were present at public feasts and games. (3) We know that a mother and her daughter were present at a sacrifice conducted by the opulent Rathavîthi. (4) But as the vices of civilization increased, Aryan high-born maids and matrons were gradually doomed to a life of seclusion. They bided at home where they had their duties, their occupations and their pleasures which gave them the interest they needed. But it was common for them to stir out in times of festivities. "Why are not all the citizens abroad and merry-making with their wives?" says Chandragupta in Mudrārākshasa. (5)

The restraints placed on royal maidens and ladies seem to have been very great. Pânini (6) uses the term '*Asūryampasyā*'—one not seeing the sun—to denote a royal lady, because she, being shut up in her harem, had no opportunity of seeing the sun. Even at home, royal ladies lived in their own private apartments called '*Avarōdhas*'—guarded places—apart from the quarters frequented by the males. Certain unavoidable circumstances there were when royal females might appear in public. After the war with Rāvana was over, when Sîtâ, "whom the very rangers of sky had not seen before" (7) was brought before the public, Rāma says, "there is no sin consequent on seeing women in danger, difficulty, war, Swayamvara and marriage" (8) Draupadî, when brought before the Sabhā, said, "I, who appeared before the public only at my Swayamvara and was not seen before or after even by the god of wind is now brought before this assembly." The social restraints to which females were subjected operated to such an extent as to preclude them from

(1.) Adi Parva Sec. 122.
(2.) Rig Veda I. 28. 3.
(3.) Rig Veda I. 116. 17 & I. 167. 5 & 6.
(4.) Rig Veda. V. 61.
(5.) Act III.
(6.) Ashtâdhyâyi III. 2. 36.
(7.) Rāmāyana Ayodhyā Kanda Sec. 33.
(8.) Rāmāyana Yuddha Kanda Sec. 116.

taking any part in society. This was more particularly the case with unmarried women. We learn from the dramas that Sakuntalā, Ratnāvali and other heroines could, with great difficulty, be prevailed upon to address the objects of their affection. They answer every question by proxy as it was part of a virtuous breeding for virgins to decline conversation with men and they would have violated decorum if they had ventured to reply. When Sakuntalā asks Kanwa to send her two female friends with her to the City, he says "They are yet unmarried; it is not proper for them to go into the city with you." (10) No such severe restraints were imposed upon married women. We find in the dramas that the queens frequently and unreservedly enter into conversation with the friends of their lords (11) and even with strangers. When modest women had to appear in public, they seem to have been well veiled. Sakuntalā was veiled when she appeared in Dushyanta's Court.(12)

STATE OF DEPENDENCE OF FEMALES.

In the Vedic period women had as much liberty as men. "In those days, they were not dependent on husbands and other relations." (13) On the occasion of the marriage ceremonies, a wish was expressed in the bride's favour that she may be a queen over her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's sisters and brothers. (14) The Vedic formulae addressed by the bride-groom in the marriage ceremony seem to preclude the idea of a subordinate position of wives. He says "as in the word *Sāma*, the parts, *Sā* and *ama* are mutually connected, so are we, I am *Ama*, thou art *Sā*." (15) Again in the *Saptapadi* rite, he is made to say to his wife "Become the partner of my food, drinking, cattle, wealth, health and be my companion and friend." (16) From this Saptapadi rite we have the word *Sáptapadinam* which means 'intimate friendship.' But latterly women came to be reduced to a state of dependence. Perhaps they were inclined to be too independent in men's estimation and they wanted to restrain and domineer over them. Manu, as in the Ancient Roman Law, institutes "the perpetual tulelage of women." He says, "In childhood must a female be dependent

(10.) Sākuntala Act IV. (11.) Vide Advice to Sitā in Rajasekhara's Balaramayana Act IV. and Vatsyayana's Kamasutras XXI. 35.
(12.) Sakuntala Act V. (13.) Mahabharata, Adi Parva Sec. 122.
(14.) Rig Veda X. 85. 46. (15.) Aitaieya Brahmana iii. 2. 23.
(16.) Hiranyakēsi Grihya Sutra I. 6. 21. 2. Asvalâyana Grihya Sutra I. 7. 19. Sankhyayana Grihya Sutra I. 14. 6.

on her father, in youth on her husband, her lord being dead on her sons, if she has no sons on the near kinsmen of her husband, if he left no kinsmen and on her fathers relations and in default of any relation on the sovereign; a woman must never seek independence." (17)

In the Rāmāyana, Kausalyā, after the exile of Rama, addresses Dasaratha; "one of the refuges of a woman is her husband, a second is her son, a third is her relations and a fourth she has none; but you, my husband, cease to be my protector, since you are yourself dependent: my son has been sent to the woods and I cannot follow him since you my husband are here and my relatives are far away; so I am with no protector and am entirely undone." (18) Yudhistthira had so much authority over his wife as to stake her in a game of dice. In the Sakuntala, Sāradwata, a disciple of Kanwa addresses Dushyanta, "Sakuntalā is your wife, either take her or abandon her, for (19) authority over wives is said to be unlimited." Morality, so often inculcated in the Hindu Sastras, is the abiding principle governing the dominion of men over women. Manu says that "women must, above all, be restrained from illicit gratification, for, not being thus restrained, she brings sorrow and infamy on both the families; so, day and night must a woman be held under lawful restrictions." (20) Manu even gives men power to punish wives when they go wrong with a rope or the small shoot of a cane. (21)

WOMEN AND THE HOUSEHOLD.

I shall describe here what duties a woman had to attend to as the matron of a household. It is at home, in the performance of her quiet duties that a woman appears at her best. The bodily and the mental constitutions of the sexes are happily adapted to the different provinces allotted to them in life. The man 'formed for valour' is fit for out-door exploits while the weak sex (*abalā*) with her "softness and sweet attractive grace" (22) has been entrusted with the management of the household and the "childward care" from the very early times. We have Vedic texts alluding to careful

(17.) Manu V. 147. 148 and IX. 3. cf. Yagnavalkya I. 85 and Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 46. verse 14.

(18.) Ramayana Ayodhya Kanda Sec. 61. (19.) Sakuntala Act V.
(20.) Manu IX. 2, 5, 6. (21.) Manu viii. 299.
(22.) Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 12. verse 14.

wives superintending the arrangements of the house, sending every one in the house to his or her work in the morning. (23) We read of women weaving garments, 24 working at the pestle and mortar, (25) and women engaged in needlework. (26) "A woman must always live with a cheerful temper," says Manu, "with good management of the affairs of the house, with great care of the household furniture and with frugal hand in all her expenses. . . . Let the husband employ his wife in the collection and expenditure of wealth and the superintendence of household utensils."(27) Draupadi, in explaining to Satyabhāma how she was able to keep her husbands' affections, says, "I always keep the house and all the household utensils very clean and in good order. Carefully do I preserve the rice and serve food at the proper time. Whatever my husbands eat not, whatever my husbands drink not, I carefully avoid. . . I knew everything of what the maid-servants and other attendants, the cowherds and the shepherds of the royal establishment did or did not. . . . It was I who looked after the elephants and horses and heard all complaints about them. . . . . I looked after the income and the expenditure of the king and it was I who superintended their vast treasury." That women did not 'fail in the childward care' is clear from what Manu says that 'the production of children and the nurture of them when produced are peculiar to the wife.' (29)

In the prelude to the dramas of Mudrarakshasa and Mrichchhakatika we have allusion to women's "fetching water, grinding, sighing over a pestle and working in the kitchen." (30) To give an insight into the other functions of an Aryan woman, I shall here give a translation of a few of the aphorisms of Vâtsyayana (31) bearing on the subject.

"Let her keep her house very clean, the floor well swept and adorned with flowers.". . . "In the matter of meals let a wife see

(23.) Rig Veda I. 48. 5 and 6 and I. 124. 4. (24.) Rig Veda II. 3. 6. II. 38. 4. X. 130.
(25.) X. 28. 3. (26.) Rig Veda II. 32. 4.
(27.) Manu V. 150. IX. 11. cf. Yagnavalkya I. 83.
*(29.) Manu IX 27. *cf.* Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 46 verse 11. Cmpare, with the above account of a Hindu matron, theaccount given in Becker's *Charicles* (p. 491) of Greek matrons.

"Next to the care of her children, she had the superintendence of all the moveable effects in the house, the furniture and the utensils, the clothès and stores. . . One of the chief duties of the wife consisted in the superintendence of the slaves and the assignment of their domestic duties."

(30.) See the prologues to Mudrarakshasa and Mrichchahkatika.
(31.) Vatsyayana's Kamasutras Sec. 21 on Hindu Wives.

what meals are liked by the husband and what not, what wholesome and what unwholesome." "Let her secretly advise her husband against putting himself to too much or unnecessary expense." 'The kitchen should be kept very clean and protected.' "Let her get, for the household, necessary things such as mud vessels, baskets, wooden vessels, leathern vessels and metal vessels whenever they are cheap." . . Let her have the following rare articles well hidden and protected—salt, oil, perfumes, medicines and pickles. . "Let her get the seeds of various plants and sow in proper time. Let her first estimate the probable amount of her husband's annual income and spend accordingly. If there be more milk after use let her make ghee out of it. In the same way, let her make proper use of oil and sugar that may remain after meals. . . . Let her spin and weave. Let her carefully watch when the paddy is husked or when rice is pounded. Let her make proper use of rice-water, scum of boiled rice, the chaff and the rice-pollen and the charcoal. Let her keep accounts of wages given to servants. Let her daily close accounts, let her keep carefully the torn cloths of her husband and present them when opportunity occurs to the servants or beggars or use them for wicks of lamps or otherwise" (32) and so on. Some of these directions of Vatsyayana have been well utilised by Dandin in his Dasakumaracharita. (33)

AMUSEMENTS OF WOMEN.

Let me next describe how the Aryan women spent their lighter hours in ancient days. Music and dancing have been their chief accomplishments from the very early times. Ushas, in the Rig Veda, is described as putting on a broidered attire like a female dancer and singing a song like a woman active in that task. (34)

We know that Arjuna, as a eunuch, taught music, vocal and instrumental, besides dancing to the daughter of the king of Virata. (35) We have, also, in the Mahabharata, an account of a jolly party where some females danced, some played on Vina and others on Mridanga. (36) Rasakrida shews the fondness of ancient Hindu women for dancing. (37) In the dramas we hear of music saloons attached to the palaces of kings. In the Nagananda, Malayavati,

(32.) Vatsyana's Kama Sutras. Sec. 21. Sutras 3 to 35.
(33.) Dandin's Dasakumaracharita. 6th Nechvasa. Tale of Gominî.
(34.) Rig Veda I. 92. 3 & 4.
(35.) Mahabharata, Virata Parva.
(36.) Mahabharata Adi Parva Sec. 224.
(37.) Jayadeva's Gita Govinda Song 3.

the heroine is singing a tune and playing on her Vina before the Goddess. In the inter-drama in Priyadarsika the heroine is engaged in a dancing entertainment. The wife of the Yaksha, in Meghaduta (38) is devoting her time to Vina in her lord's absence.

Portrait-Drawing was another female accomplishment. Ratnavali, Malati and Vasantasena, the heroines of the dramas of Sri Harsha, Bhavabhuti and Sudraka, drew portraits of their lovers. Ratnavali's friend Susamgata drew the likeness of Sagarika. In the Vishnupurana it is said that Chetralekha, the friend of Usha, drew the likeness of all the gods and kings. Seeing the ornaments presented by the Sylvan deities, Anasuya, in Sakuntala, says, "though we are ourselves unused to ornaments like these, we shall put them on Sakuntala's body, knowing their proper places by our acquaintance with the art of picture-writing." Another amusement may be mentioned—*swinging*. Dharini, in Malavikagnimitra, had her ankle sprained while rocking in a swing. In Viddhasalabhangika, some of the fair tenants of the harem amused themselves in swinging. In the same drama, we find a reference to Kandukakrida or ball-play. We see, in Dasakumaracharita, how Kandukavati played at balls in accordance with the rules laid down in Kandukatantra. (39)

Hindu ladies of old seem to have spent much of their spare time in their gardens. Every house had its own garden, (40) for the inmates to engage in small talk. Sakuntala and her friends grew and watered the plants. The wife of the Yaksha, in Meghaduta, used to sit in her garden and think of her absent lord. Vasantasena, in the drama of 'Toy-cart,' was found by Maitreya in her magnificent garden. Gathering of flowers and making of garlands were also favourite occupations with the Hindu ladies of old. Anasuya and Priyemvada gather flowers for the sacred offering. Sagarika, in Ratnavali, gathers flowers for the worship of Ananga. Malati made garlands of flowers. In Virata's Court Droupadi says, "I know how to make garlands of flowers and braids of hair." Garden-parties were very common. We have allusion, in the Ramayana, to pleasure-seeking females going with their husbands to distant gardens. (41) Vasantasena, in Mrichhakatika, goes to

(38.) Meghadūta II. 25.
(39.) Dasakumaracharita 6th Nechvasa.
(40.) Vatsyayana Sec. 4. Sutra 3.
(41.) Ramayana Ayodhya Kanda Sec. 67.

meet her beloved in a garden outside the town. That Jalakrida was another of their pastimes goes without saying. Drinking was another favourite amusement. Vatsyayana makes mention of drinking parties (Panagoshti). (42) Bharavi in his Kiratarjuniya has a whole canto on the joys of drinking.

Another amusement of Hindu ladies in Ancient India was training the parrots to speak (Sukasarikapralapanam of Vatsyayana). In Meghaduta the Yaksha's wife is speaking to her parrot. (43) In Ratnavali, the "prattling parrot" repeats before the king the secret conversation between Sagarika and her friend. Vasantasena's Seventh Court in 'Toycart' is an aviary where all the birds were taught to speak and chant. Rearing the domestic animals was another occupation of women. Vatsyayana is of opinion that women may spend their time in training sheep, cocks and other animals for mock-fight. Sakuntala brought up fawns like children. Reference is made to women driving in cars even in the Rig Veda. (45) Savitri is said to have driven in a vehicle in search for a husband. Malati rode on an elephant to the temple.*

Females, in those days, also formed the personal attendants of kings. Chandragupta was surrounded by female slaves. Dushyanta had yavani slaves *i.e.*, female slaves of foreign countries captured in war.(46) Pururavas is said to have had female torch-bearers also.(47)

(42.) See Vatsyayana's Kamasutras Sec. 3. (43.) Meghaduta II. 24. 44 Rig Veda I. 116. 17 and I. 167. 5, 6.

* It seems females never rode on a horse. In the Mahabharata, a king hunting in a forest was metamorphosed into a woman and he says: "How am I in this form to ride on my horse" (Mahabharata Anusasana Parva Sec. 12.)

(45.) Mudrarakshasa Act III. (46.) Sakuntala Act II. and Act VI.
(47.) Vikramorvasi Act III. and Act VI.

FEMALE WORSHIP IN THE EAST.

THE worship of the female element or the passive one in nature is a prominent feature in the religious systems of the world, specially so in the East, the storehouse of all religious conceptions. In the West, the dogmatic theology of Christianity, and the iron hand of superstition forced it to veil itself under a cloak of symbology and mysticism, the traces of which we can find in the various specimens of architecture in Europe. The cross and the crescent, but very thinly conceal the phallic worship, which in the East was developed into a regular form of worship accompanied by its peculiar form of initiations and rites. Even at the present time, *Sakti* worship prevails to a considerable extent in India, in its grossest as also in its most refined form. The northern School represented more prominently the left-hand (Vâmâchâra) path finds its followers in Bengal and Cashmere; the Southern generally typifying the higher conceptions of that faith finds favour in the South of India. But we have to see whether this is of recent origin, or had its source from the common religion of the Aryans, antedating the Vedic period.

During the Vedic period, the best authority we can pitch upon, is the Rig Veda, the most authoritative and the most historical source of information, we possess. We understand from it that the hymns give no definite idea concerning any other worship except of the powers of nature, represented by Indra, Agni, Varuna, the Aswins, and the Maruts. Wealth, chattle, and prosperity formed the subject of the prayers, and in many places victory over the enemies. True it is that Indra and other gods are requested to come with their *wives* and partake of the oblations. But no idea of worship is anywhere associated with these conceptions, the mention being only incidental. For a long time, there was a misconception of the *gâyatri*, the easterns trying to find in it an authoritative example of the worship of negative element in creation. But the correct interpretation of the *gâyatri* mantra, the most sacred to the Brahmins, removes the illusion; Rig Veda III, 62, 10. reads: "We medidate on that desirable light of the shining Sun who influences

our pious rights." We see here nothing, but a prayer addressed to the Sun, the generator and the vivifier of the life in the universe; hence a male power if anything. The whole Sûkta is addressed to the Sun, this *verse* occurring in the middle of it. Every authoritative commentary on the Vedas has explained this in a way that gives no room for doubt about any female conception being associated with it. The whole confusion arose, I believe, from ignoring the fact that the *gâyatri* means simply a *metre* and nothing but that. The other scattered allusions in the Rig Veda to Ushas and the Saraswati and other rivers would not in any way disprove this; for example Rig Veda I, 113, 7, "She the young white-robed daughter of the sky, the mistress of all earthly treasure dawns upon us dissipating darkness. Auspicious Ushas shine upon us in this spot," could not be construed anyhow as meaning a worship of the generative principle in nature. Turning now to the other portions of the Vedas, we see that the Taithariyaranyaka is laid hold of by the *Agama* writers as furnishing an authority for the female worship. Of course, the subtle Hindu mind can give any explanation or twist any passage of the Vedas to sanction its peculiar theory and rites, as is evidenced by the fact that the most conflicting sects in India quote the same Srutis to support their own views.

Of the Upanishad, we find one of the earliest, the Keno-upanishad mentioning the word *Umâ*, (III 12). "Then in the same space (*Ether*), he came towards a woman, highly adorned; it was *Umâ*, the daughter of Himavat. He said to her: Who is that spirit?" From this newly introduced word *Umâ*, some may understand a puranic legend was introduced by mentioning the word *Umâ* the daughter of of the mountain Himavat. The most apparent meaning is *Parvati*, the sponse of Siva; but of the many interpretations given to this vexed word, that of Sankara's first meaning seems to be the most intelligent and logical. *Uma,—Himavat*, or *Hymavati* means according to him. "Adorned with golden ornament (hema means gold)." Again *Uma* may mean Brahmavidya, and *Hymavati*, the spiritual knowledge that the sages got while they were meditating on the top of the Himalayas.

During the philosophical period, when the old rishis began to exercise their intellect in fathoming the secrets of the unknowable, they postulated that there should be everywhere two energies, in

nature, the positive and the negative; the male and the female. The one they called *Purusha*, the Supreme Being, and the other *Prakriti*, subsidiary to the former. A whole school of philosophy, built upon the idea took a great hold on the speculative mind under the name of *Sànkhya system* of thought. Here the division began to arise and many Upanishads were written to give an air of authority to this exaltation of the Devi above others. The Bhâvanâ, the Tirupurasundari, and a dozen other Upanishads contain the most important and the most sacred of their tenets, and the practical methods of *Upásana*. Nay a later school began to postulate the theory that without *Sakti*, Purusha, the active power, cannot create. The great Sankarâcharya in the first stanza of the *Anandalahari*, one of the most authoritative works on Manthrasastra says " Unless Siva joins with Sakti, he is not able even to move." Kapila and other leaders of the speculative form of this doctrine state the same, giving a different name to Sakti as *Múlaprakriti*, *Parásakti* &c. So it has come down as an accepted truth that Brahma is always associated with his consort Sakti, Vishnu with Lakshmi, and Rudra with *Bhavani*. In the Svetasvatara Upanishad IV, 5 says "There is one unborn female being, red, white and black uniform, but producing manifold offspring; there is one unborn male being who loves her and lies by her." But some other Upanishads praise Sakti as supreme and give all credit to her completely ignoring Purusha. There is one prime reason why the Ancient Aryans evolved a separate system of Devi worship. They thought that the life-energy running through all forms of existence sustaining them as it were is *Mahasakti*, the grossest form of which on the physical plane is the *Kundalini*, in the microcosm. This is located in the *Muladhara Chakra*, at the root of the spinal cord, where it lies coiled in three and half circles with its tail in its mouth. To rouse it and to take it though the *sushumna nadi* right up to the *sahasrara* and there effect a permanent union with Brahman, her lord, is the surest method to attain Nirvana, and the goal of the Sakti-worshippers. The sun courses through the *Pingala* Nadinis, the body driving up everything, and the moon travels through the *Ida* bedewing the whole system with divine nectar. Through *Pranayama* the Prana that courses through the Nadis is restrained in *Kumbaka*, thus preventing the sun

and the moon from coming down. Then Kundalini awakes and hisses for food. She must be fed to break through the three grandhis or knots, the Brahmagrandhi, (the Muladhara, and the Swadhishtana), the Vishnugrandhi, (Manipuraka, and the Anahata) and Rudragrandhi (Visuddhi and Agna), to Sahasrara Chakra, where she bites the Chandra which is located in the middle of it. Thence nectar begins to flow towards the Chandra mandala in the Agnachakra, thus bedewing the whole system. This union with Brahman is only temporary, and she returns to her abode after every such process. She must so train herself up by a repetition of this practice to reside for ever with her lord, thus realising the highest form of bliss attainable—that of Nirwana. This engrossed the entire attention of the ancients and made them overlook completely the Purusha aspect of the question. This is the life teaching of all the Agamas, Tantras, Puranas and other books that treat of Devi-worship. The results held out were too attractive to be ignored and the nation rushed in to paratake of the feast. But every one had not the necessary qualifications. Every one had not prepared himself by long and arduous course of training, physical, mental and moral, prescribed for a student of the science. Many books were written on the subject, and a wide literature sprung up dealing with the doctrine and the practice. This heterogeneity in the worshippers could not but bring about many misconceptions of the teaching. This gradually led to an utter inability to understand the more abstract and refined faith and necessitated various adoptions of the truths. The three principal forms of worship are *Samaya, Misra*, and *Kaula*. The Samaya is the highest and has as its object the liberation of the soul from bondage. They want to unite themselves with Sakti through Kundalini. It is derived from Sa + maya = He is with me. The tenets of this sect are contained in the five Agamas, known as Subhagama panchaka, written by Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara, Vasishta and Suka. They interpret the Vedas from their own point of view. All karmas are entirely ignored by the followers of this sect who live as Sannyasis. The misras perform all daily karmas, worship the Devi in the various elements and perform the upasana on Yantras of gold and silver. They try to awake the Kundalini and succeed in taking her as far as the Anahutachakra. The Kaulas

are the lowest of the group; they worship the Kundalini in the Muladara and never try to awake her. Their worship is of the grossest sort and has nothing divine or intellectual about it. Many of them do not worship the Kundalini at all but resort to black magic and other nefarious practices to gain their objects. Minute directions are given about these in the 64 Agamas,* which Lakshmedhara, the commentator on Anandalahari says, was meant for the lower classes. They even resort to such indecent practices as the worship of the generative organs, intoxicate themselves with liquor and disgrace the community to which they belong. These are known as *Saktas* and are found scattered in the various parts of the country. They however excuse themselves on the ground that they simply follow the orthodox Brahminism, their *achara*. The Brahmins intoxicate themselves with Soma juice; they eat the flesh of the animals offered in sacrifice; they also exalt the worship of the generative organs in the performance of the *Paundrikayaga.* Why should not Kaulas do likewise? The Misra literature is contained in the 8 Agamas, *Chandrakala*, *Jyotsnavati*, *Kalanidhi*, *Kularnava*, *Kuleswari*, *Bhuvaneswari*, *Barhaspatya*, and *Durvasas*. The Kaulagama was or ought to have been the purest form and the one best fitted to achieve its object. *Ku*=Prithivi, and *laya*=absorption. That wherein the Prithivi is absorbed—the *Muladhara.* The literature of Devi worship is very extensive and is the work of a lifetime. The dark side of the faith is described in the Kularnava and the other Tantras; but we refrain from quoting from any of them as it will simply disgrace these pages. A study of the literature gives one a very fair idea of how the truths of the Upanishads came to be degraded into the low worship of the Agamas, from the lofty contemplation of the abstract powers in nature down to the slaughtering of buffaloes to the goddess during *Dasra.*

The Buddhists too were attracted by the Devi worship and worked extensively in that field. A greater part of their literature is now lost to us. Kunganagarjuna who ruled in Cashmere in the earlier part of the present Era, famous among the Buddhists for his profound knowledge of the mantras and the manipulation of the various powers in nature, embodied all his knowledge in a large work, *Kacchaputta.*

* A small description of these 64 Agamas will occupy at least 10 pages and so I have not touched on that point.

WARREN HASTINGS

As Clerk and Councillor to the East India Company.

IN a recent Parliamentary debate on British South African affairs an eminent speaker on colonization expressed an opinion that those who colonize a virgin soil with the object of making room for the ever-increasing population of the world confer a far greater benefit on their country than the conquerors of a land already populated however wealthy it may be.

In the spirit of this declaration there is evidence of the complete change which European politics have undergone since the time when a Chartered Company of tradesmen were instrumental in bringing this continent under British rule. In those days the chief object of colonization was trade and it often followed incidentally that territory was acquired. Now, commerce is generally the thin edge of the wedge for getting into a country which promises to be a field for emigration: its small aboriginal tribe being either subjugated or left to become extinct in course of time.

This policy has undoubtedly an advantage over that in vogue in the days of the East India Company. The enemies the modern pioneer encounters are generally savages. The servants of the Company had to cope with intelligent antogonism: the diplomatic skill of the natives of Bengal no less than the fighting proclivities of the Mahomedans. As long as possible they confined themselves strictly to commerce. But the aggressive policy of the French as well as the continued scheming all around induced them to abandon their peace policy and to begin that series of coalitions and conquests which finally made the English masters of India.

When Warren Hastings first came to India as an underwriter the English had just begun to take an active part in the politics of the country. He appears to have soon brought himself under notice and was entrusted with various matters of importance including diplomatic missions to the Nawab on behalf of the Company.

It was at this time that Nundkumar and Hastings first came into contact, the former as a political suspect on trial, the latter as

official enquirer into the charges framed against him. The interest of the case lies in Hastings' decision against the Brahmin, which has, rightly or wrongly, been adjudged the reason of Nundkumar's enmity to the Governor-General in after days.

There can be no doubt that even in this earlier part of his career Hastings' talents met with ready recognition from those above him. Vansittart, taking over the reigns of government from Clive, though not over-gifted with brains, was shrewd enough to know that he could not hope for a better second than the young diplomatist who had shewn himself to be capable of thinking and acting correctly in cases of emergency. Thus commenced Hastings' service as a Bengal Councillor.

Vansittart was at this time handicapped in much the same way as was Hastings later on. All power for good or evil lay with the majority in council who made full use of it for the furthering of their own interests. They cared little for the good of the Company and still less for the honour of the British name. Their behaviour towards Mir Kasim was conspicuously disgraceful. This by no means weak or inefficient chief, on attaining the throne of Bengal had set about reorganizing his government, no small task considering the state in which Mir Jaffer had left it. The English instead of encouraging him in his efforts carried on the most unauthorized proceedings in defiance of all laws. A privilege the Company possessed of trading at seaports free of duties was doubly abused by their servants including several members of council. It was never intended that the allowance should extend to commerce in the interior or any private trading; but these gentlemen claimed exemption from all tolls and taxes within the province, and for their private enterprises. The Muhomedan ruler repeatedly protested against these proceedings as they robbed him of much revenue.

Here we find Hastings in the character of mediator between his malcontent countrymen and Mir Kasim: and no one can accuse him of being prejudiced in favor of either side. Placing in its true light the effect arising from their unjustifiable conduct, he proposed to his fellow councillors that they should meet the Nawab half way with a concession—that a merely nominal tax on inland trade should be imposed on Europeans and natives alike. This was angrily rejected by the majority in Council who refused to surrender

an iota of their profit for the public good. Whereupon the Nawab being determined to have justice at any price retaliated by abolishing all internal duties on trade. Then ensued a war, the details of which are matters of history and which resulted in the English becoming virtual masters of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

It is noteworthy on looking back over this troubled period that the Company's first great political achievement should have been the outcome of one of the most disgraceful episodes of English History in India. Had Hastings' colleagues not goaded Mir Kasim into open resistance by their corrupt practices, the Battle of Buxar would never have been fought: and from this victory followed the grant of the Diwannee from Shah Alum.

More than one historian has attempted to excuse the conduct of the Company's servants at this crisis, in that it was a period of general upset and sudden changes: that the province having fallen without a blow under the power of the English, it was natural that they should succumb to the temptation to benefit themselves at the expense of those around them. This is hardly the argument to satisfy men who are told, *ad nauseam*, that British self-control under temptation renders England the fittest nation to rule India.

Hastings had intended to leave Bengal and the service in 1763 and only the outbreak of war kept him at his post. On the conclusion of hostilities he sent in his resignation and sailed for England in 1765.

During his life in India the motive power which ruled all his actions seems to have been entirely different from that of the ordinary run of Englishmen who came out in the Company's service. The sole object of most if not all of them was to acquire a fortune, while Hastings' chief aim appears to have been to make a good name for himself. Where personal profit was concerned his want of forethought amounted to imprudence. What little money he had managed to save while in India he had deposited with a Banker who promised high interest but never so much as repaid the principal. On his arrival in England he is said to have made liberal presents to all his relations. The result was that he soon found it necessary to seek re-employment in the East India Company. Hearing that the Court of Directors were in want of a reliable and experienced man to fill an important place in the Madras Council,

he applied for and obtained the appointment—that of Deputy Governor of Madras.

His second voyage out to India could hardly have been a dull one. Among other passengers was the Baroness Imhoff, in whom Hastings found a kindred spirit. There was a husband in the way, but being only a German noble in reduced circumstances, he was easily prevailed upon to agree to a divorce in return for some pecuniary compensation.

On his arrival in Madras Hastings appears to have been slightly disappointed with his position. In a letter he complains "that the capabilities of his president, Mr. Duprex, left him few opportunities for exerting himself outside of his own department." Here is matter for a little speculation: what would the effect have been upon this Presidency if Warren Hastings' tenure in office had been longer, and his influence felt beyond the export warehouse.

Nevertheless even in his subordinate position Hastings earned the approbation of the Company for the creditable manner in which he reformed the whole system of their silk and cotton trade in Madras. While he was employed in this re-organization, the rest of the council were forming political intrigues and entering upon impracticable treaties with the neighbouring states, whom it would have been well for them to have left alone. For, the subsequent perils which Madras underwent were owing in a great measure to the engagements which its government made, but did not fulfil, with Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas.

Meanwhile affairs in Bengal were in the most deplorable state. The agricultural classes were groaning under an oppression almost as heavy as during the reign of Mr. Vansittart. The revenue administration was in the hands of risen native overseers. The only check upon them was held by a nunber of underwriters, most of them mere boys, inexperienced, unscrupulous, and all anxious to make their fortunes in as short a time as possible. A small bribe would be quite sufficient to make them blind to the doings of their native assistants. These overseers were not fit taskmasters for their fellow countrymen. For, as is well known, men who have long suffered oppression, when placed in ill-controlled power over others, are apt to be tyrannical.

The Directors, looking to their dividends, and being favorably impressed by the reforms which Hastings effected in his department at Madras, considered him to be the best man to set matters to rights. Accordingly, when a vacancy occurred in the Bengal Council he was appointed to it, with the right of succeeding Cartier as Governor.

Hastings accepted the transfer with alacrity; for although on excellent terms with his colleagues at Madras, as also with the Nawab of Arcot (with whom he had had many dealings), he welcomed the prospect of taking up a position where his talents would have a wider scope. The advantages, both political and commercial, which Bengal had already obtained, made it obvious that it would soon be the principal of the Company's possessions.

R. B. LENAHAN.

PRINTED AT THE VYJAYANTI PRESS, LAKESIDE, EGMORE, MADRAS.